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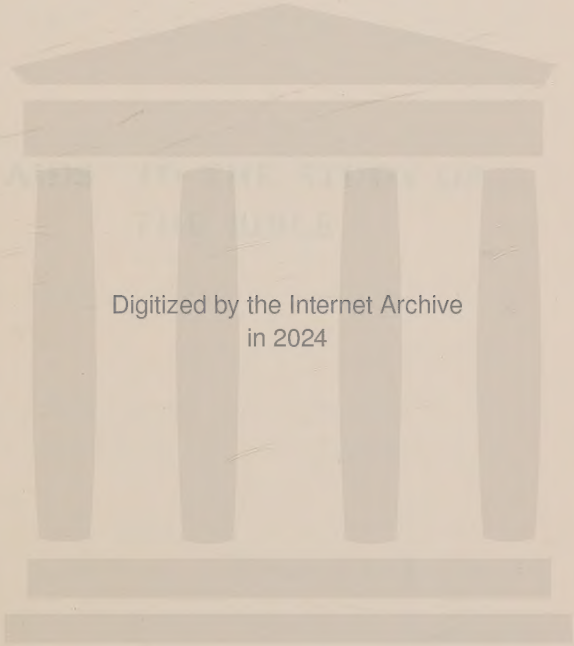

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"AIDS" TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE

THE CATHOLIC STUDENT'S "AIDS" TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE

BY

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WITH PREFACE BY

ARCHBISHOP McINTYRE

VOL. III.

THE NEW TESTAMENT
(THE ACTS, EPISTLES, AND APOCALYPSE)

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"If there is any one thing which can secure us peace and tranquillity of mind amidst the worries and anxieties of this present world it is, I think, the study of Holy Scripture. . . . For it is far more profitable to read the Bible than to devote oneself to accumulating wealth. . . . Wherefore be not too severe upon a present that is offered you, or, as the old proverb has it, 'Do not look a gift horse in the mouth!'"

ST. JEROME: *Preface to his Commentary on Ephesians.*

Made and Printed in Great Britain.

PREFACE

The function of a Christian apologist has never been better expressed than in St. Justin's dialogue with Trypho: "I shall prove to you as you stand here that we have not believed empty fables, or words without any foundation, but words filled with the Spirit of God, and big with power, and flourishing with grace" (chap. ix.). That function involves a treatment of the fundamental question concerning the credibility of the New Testament writings. Whence came they? What was the competence of their writers? Have they been handed down without substantial corruption? Answers to these questions are a part of any adequate introduction to Scripture. Introduction and apology or discredit are therefore closely connected. The result of Biblical introduction may be a shaking of faith in the authority of Scripture, or it may be a most powerful defence of that authority—a true apologia. Having studied Father Hugh Pope's *The Catholic Student's "Aids" to the Bible*, I have no hesitation in saying that he has given us an excellent piece of apologetic to confront modern criticism.

The age is nothing if not critical. Modern criticism may lawfully boast of its patient learning and searching power. Scarcely a statement of Scripture escapes the severest testing; and criticism is proudly fearless in accepting the results, or apparent results, of its method. But there were kings before Agamemnon. Moderns are not the only critics of whom we have knowledge. From the beginning, the

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New Testament had to run the gauntlet of Jewish, pagan, and heretical criticism. One has only to read Origen against Celsus or St. Augustine's Harmony of the Gospels to learn how keen, fierce, and biting that criticism was. In these respects it can hardly be surpassed.

But there was another danger against which the sacred books had to be protected, more formidable perhaps than that of criticism. That was the danger of loss of authority, either through the careless mingling of other books with them as though they all formed one equal collection, or through a serious tampering with the sacred books themselves. Ecclesiastical history shows how close and pressing was this danger; but it also shows how the watchful solicitude of the Church warded it off. The various declarations quoted in vol. ii, pp. 90-92, on the Canon of Scripture are illustrative of the mind and method of the ecclesiastical authorities. On the one hand, these would never surrender what had been fully accredited and handed down; on the other, rather than run the risk of accepting as of divine what was only of human authority, they preferred to hold back from accepting what might be of divine authority until they were abundantly assured of this by unimpeachable testimony. They acted as men who had ever before their eyes the terrible anathemas of the Apocalypse. "If any man shall add to these things, God shall add unto him the plagues written in this book. And if any man shall take away . . . God shall take away his part out of the book of life" (xxii. 18). Thus the solidity of Catholic tradition is the impregnable rock of the Canon of Scripture. Not the least valuable part of the "Aids" is the numerous citations from the Fathers, which re-create for us the learned and critical atmosphere in which that Catholic tradition lived and acted.

In most of our modern criticism too much stress is laid on subjective taste and feeling, and too little stress on

the historic guarantees of authenticity. If the historic testimony to authorship is direct and sure, internal criticism must be subordinate to it, be guided by it, and not override it. To apply a salutary check to the vagaries of subjectivism is one of the crying needs of the hour. Father Pope's volumes render no mean service in applying such check. He balances criticism with history, but without denying to criticism its due weight. He has made a not unsuccessful effort to extract from modern research and criticism much that is sound and valuable for the elucidation of the sacred text, and, at the same time, he has not allowed himself to be swept from the firm standing of history by the critical current. In thus making use of the resources of contemporary scholarship and learning, he has acted in the spirit of the Fathers and early Christian writers: "Whatever things were rightly said among all men are the property of us Christians."

On account of the importance of the historic aspect, I may be permitted to quote, from a very learned Catholic scholar, a summary of the earliest precautionary measures for the defence of the New Testament writings: "Now the books of the New Testament were addressed to Christian communities, or some faithful of standing; they were kept and read in the particular Churches, were copied under supervision, and their contents were communicated to others in a duly attested form. The Churches alone could undertake the office of public witness, but their guarantee was ample. Even in the Apostolic letters, various stringent precautions were taken. Thus when the Epistles were dictated, the autograph signature of the authors was attached, and attention was directed to this point, and to the character of the writing. Writer and addressee are expressly mentioned by name. Paul sent his letters by special messengers, just as the decision of the Council of Jerusalem was conveyed to Antioch by chosen delegates. St. Paul ordered his letters

to be read to all the faithful, and then to be forwarded to another community. . . . Of course, the historical books contain no such indications; but we may be quite sure that they were not less carefully watched.

"Nor . . . were the precautions taken in sending copies from place to place less stringent. Special notes given to the bearers were the chief of these safeguards. Such commendatory letters were given when members of the community were setting out on a journey. Moreover, the Epistle of Polycarp . . . proves that it was thought necessary to give an accompanying note even with writings of less importance. For this purpose he sent a letter with the collection of the Epistles of St. Ignatius which he despatched to Philippi. But Polycarp, like the Apostle, by giving the name of the bearer, also testifies that this precaution was in general use" (Schanz, *A Christian Apology*, ii, p. 395).

I cannot, of course, stand sponsor for all that Father Pope has written; but, in my judgment, he has written a Biblical introduction of the highest value for Catholic students, and has accomplished a task the difficulties of which will be best appreciated by those most fully acquainted with the subject.

✠ John, Archbishop of Birmingham.

Archbishop's House, Birmingham,
December 2, 1922.

INTRODUCTION

In this third volume, which deals with the *Acts of the Apostles*, with the *Epistles* and the *Apocalypse*, we come to what may be termed "the Gospels in action," to the story of the new-born Church. Yet how fragmentary is that story as portrayed in the sacred pages of the New Testament! How fragmentary, too, the other Christian literature of that period of surpassing interest! The more we study the New Testament the more we realize that the very scantiness of the records thus preserved compels us to work and toil to gather what light we may from the tiniest of hints furnished, whether by the inspired record itself or profane literature.

The truth is, of course, that the early Christians were far too occupied in spreading the good tidings by word of mouth to be careful about preserving for subsequent ages details for which we would give much. Every chapter of *Acts* makes us conscious of the overwhelming Spirit of God which dominated those Saints of old and drove them to "preach the Gospel to every creature," so that verily "their sound went forth into the entire world." The same impression is left by St. Paul's *Epistles;* they might well have for their motto: "The night-time cometh when no man can work."

But though the New Testament itself is the tiniest of volumes, the same cannot be said of the literature it has produced. Year by year the torrent grows in volume, so that every writer is—or ought to be—ashamed to add to it! Yet in the end each man is driven back to the tiny volume itself; it displaces all commentaries when a man would view his own soul "as in a mirror." For in the last resort a man wants to know what God Himself has said, not what men say about what God has said. The aim of every

Introduction to the New Testament should be—at least so it would seem—to meet this need; it should help a person to read the New Testament more intelligently for himself. With this purpose in view we have entered with some fulness into details which may at first sight seem superfluous; we have, for instance, discussed literary problems, such, for example, as are presented by the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, or by that to the *Ephesians*, with a certain amount of fulness. We have been led to do so because the very fascination of such problems ultimately drives people to read the actual *Epistles* for themselves. After all, that is the real goal. When we have pondered long on the various problems presented by *Ephesians* we can still turn to the marvellous opening chapters and stand in awe at the profundity of the doctrine there set forth. No one felt this more intensely than St. Augustine:

"So profound is Christian literature," he writes to Volusianus, "that if I had read nothing else from childhood to decrepit old age, and had given all my leisure and study and brains to its investigation, I should yet make daily progress in it. I do not mean, of course, that such intense application as this would be necessary in order to arrive at the truths necessary for salvation; but when once a man has grasped that faith without which none can lead a devout and upright life, there yet remain so many things still shrouded in deepest mystery, there yet lies hidden a depth of wisdom so profound—and this not solely in the words which are used to express them, but even in the things themselves—that it often happens that even those who are the most advanced in years, the keenest in intellect, and the most ardent searchers after truth, realize in the end the truth of what Scripture itself says: 'When a man has finished then has he begun' (Ecclus. xviii. 6)."

It is in this spirit we must all approach the study of the New Testament, and it is for this reason that we have here, as in the previous volumes, quoted so extensively from the Fathers of the Church. We do not mean for a moment that they have exhausted the possibilities of interpretation, but they so emphatically point out to us the right path, they so urgently insist that all true knowledge of God's word must be based on its supernatural character, that though a man may often find great help from modern commentators, he yet returns in the end to the Fathers, for he says "the old is better." He feels as he reads these giants of old that for them the problems which the Bible presents are meant

to be an incentive to deeper study; that in themselves such problems and their solution never touch the main issue: that the Bible is the Word of God preserved for us and interpreted for us by "the pillar and ground of Truth." Moreover, these true servants of God make us realize that the Bible is but a stepping-stone, that it is a means and not an end in itself, and that consequently the study of it must not be allowed to become an end in itself; for these Sacred Books are simply finger-posts pointing the way to God. St. Augustine is never weary of insisting on this:

"The first step in piety is faith, and the fruits of faith are understanding, so that we may attain that eternal life where no Gospel is read to us, but where He Who gave us the Gospel for our present needs will Himself replace the pages we read, the voice of the reader and the commentator; He will then appear to all who are His, and who now stand before Him with purified hearts, in bodies now immortal never again to die; He will purify them and illumine them now truly living and seeing that 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God.'"[1]

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[1] *Tract.* xxii. 2 *in Joann. P.L.* XXXV, 1574.

From the Offices of the Secretary of State to His Holiness, The Vatican, May 24th, 1919.

TO THE VERY REV. FATHER HUGH POPE, O.P.

VERY REV. FATHER,

The devoted and filial homage which you have exhibited in humbly presenting to this August See the two volumes you have recently published entitled "The Catholic Student's 'Aids' to the Study of the Bible" has proved peculiarly pleasing and acceptable to the Roman Pontiff.

The deep and varied knowledge of the Bible which you have been able to set forth with remarkable clearness, while, at the same time, condensing it in masterly fashion into a relatively small number of pages; the zeal and care wherewith you have sought to discover, and set out in clear relief the mind of the Church on each question—all combine to make your work one of no small utility, and this especially for those who, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, desire to take up Biblical studies. Even those already well versed in such studies will be glad to have the results of your studies placed at their disposal.

The Holy Father, then, while rejoicing at the favourable reception which these volumes of "Aids" have already met with at the hands of the educated public, warmly congratulates you on this most useful publication and bestows on it his heartfelt blessing. Further, he sincerely hopes that your learned and most opportune work will find its place in people's libraries and will be studied and consulted by all those who desire to make themselves acquainted with the Scriptures and to learn, or at least recall to mind, how to meet the difficulties that may arise, how to interpret a passage, and how to grasp the historical or dogmatic import of each Book of the Bible.

And I myself, to whom falls the pleasant task of communicating to you these kindly words of the Supreme Pontiff, most gladly sign myself with all expressions of esteem for yourself,

Yours most sincerely in Christ,

P. CARD. GASPARRI.

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THE JOURNEY TO ROME.
MAP OF THE WITNESSES TO THE CANON AND THE TEACHING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

A. Brief Introductory Account of the Book.
B. Analysis.
C. The Object and Scope of Acts.
  (A) It does not pretend to give all the Acts of all the Apostles.
  (B) But it does afford us an insight into the Apostolic life.
  (C) St. Luke's method.
  (D) Certain points of interest.
D. Some Extrinsic Confirmations of St. Luke's Historical Statements.
E. The Relationship of Acts to St. Paul's Epistles.
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K. Certain Variant Readings, particularly of Codex Bezæ.
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A. The Acts of the Apostles.

St. Luke's second volume (note "the *former* treatise, O Theophilus") treats of the foundation of the Church and its speedy propagation; but, as St. Jerome expresses it: "Though the Acts of the Apostles may seem to give us but the bare outlines of the story of the infancy of the new-born Church, yet if we call to mind that the author is Luke the physician, 'whose praise is in the Gospel,'

then we shall realize that all his words are truly medicine for the languishing soul."[1] *Acts* stands midway between the foundation which is the *Gospel* and the fruits which are the *Epistles;* much as the *Psalter* stands midway between the History and the Prophets. Both books, the *Psalter* and *Acts*, may be fittingly termed "the Books of the Holy Spirit"; in the former we meditate under the influence of the Spirit which quickened the Hebrew Church; in the latter we see the same Spirit in action as "informing" the new-born Church of Him Who sent us the Spirit. St. Augustine tells us that "this canonical Book is read each year in the Church[2] from Easter Sunday onwards."[3] But St. Chrysostom complains that in his time it was too much neglected.[4] St. Jerome speaks of Luke as:

"The physician who by leaving to the Churches his *Gospel* and his *Acts of the Apostles* shows us how from fishers of fishes the Apostles became fishers of men. Indeed, he himself from a physician of the body became a physician of souls . . . and as often as his Book is read in the Churches so often does his medicine flow forth in unfailing stream."[5]

B. Analysis.

A. I-IX. History of the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews.

I. *The preparation for the spreading of the Gospel*, i-ii.

(i.) The events which preceded the Day of Pentecost and the actual foundation of the Church, i. 1-26.

(*a*) i. 1-12. The ascension of Christ and the promise of the Holy Spirit.

(*b*) i. 13-26. The disciples are assembled together and Matthias is chosen to replace Judas.

(ii.) The Day of Pentecost and the actual foundation of the Church, ii. 1-47.

(*a*) ii. 1-13. The descent of the Holy Spirit.
(*b*) ii. 14-36. St. Peter's first sermon.
(*c*) ii. 37-41. Many are admitted to Baptism.
(*d*) ii. 42-47. The fervour of the early Christians.

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[1] *Ep.* LIII. 8, *P.L.* XXII. 548; *cp. Ep.* CVII. 12, *P.L.* XXII. 876.
[2] *Tract.* VI. 18 *in Joan.*, *P.L.* XXXV. 1433.
[3] *Sermo* CCCXV. 1, *P.L.* XXXVIII. 1426.
[4] *Hom.* I. *in Actus Apostolorum*, *P.G.* LX. 559.
[5] *Comment. in Ep. ad Philemonem*, 24, *P.L.* XXVI. 613; *cf. Ep.* CVII. 12, *P.L.* XXII. 876.

II. *The spread of the Church amongst the Jews of Jerusalem,* iii-vii.

(i.) iii. 1-12. St. Peter's first miracle—he heals the man lame from his birth.

(ii.) iii. 12-26. His second address.

(iii.) iv. 1-31. Peter and John are arrested; many are added to the Church; trial of Peter and John; Peter's defence; they are released; the prayer of the disciples; the Holy Spirit is poured out upon them again.

(iv.) iv. 32-v. 11. The fervour of the members of the early Church; their life in common; it is illustrated by two incidents: Barnabas sells his property for the good of the Church; Ananias and Sapphira pretend to do so; their punishment.

(v.) v. 12-42. The miracles wrought by the Apostles provoke persecution by the Sadducees; they are arrested, but released by an Angel; their defence on being re-arrested; they are God-appointed witnesses; Gamaliel counsels moderation to the Sadducees; the Apostles are scourged and set free; their earnest preaching.

(vi.) vi. 1-vii. 59. The appointment of seven Deacons; the increase of the Church; the preaching of Stephen provokes further persecution; his defence; his martyrdom: *the witnesses laid down their garments at the feet of a young man whose name was Saul.*

III. *This persecution brings about the dispersal of the disciples, not, however, of the Apostles; the consequent evangelization of Samaria, Philistia, and Damascus,* viii-ix.

(i.) viii. 1-4. The persecution; the dispersal; Stephen's funeral; Saul "makes havoc of the Church."

(ii.) viii. 5-25. The mission of Philip the Deacon to Samaria; conversion of Simon Magus; Peter and John are sent by the Apostles to confer the Holy Spirit on the new converts; Simon Magus' sin and its punishment.

(iii.) viii. 26-40. Philip's mission to Philistia; he baptizes the eunuch of Candace and passes on to Cæsarea.

(iv.) ix. 1-30. Saul's journey to Damascus; his miraculous conversion; his zeal; the Jews plot to kill him; he comes to Jerusalem, and is introduced to the Apostles by Barnabas; he retires to Tarsus.

(v.) ix. 31-43. A period of peace in Judæa, Galilee, and Samaria; St. Peter makes a visitation of the Church there; he raises Eneas at Lydda, and Tabitha, or Dorcas, at Joppe.

B. X-XXVIII. The Spread of the Church among the Gentiles.

I. X-XII. *The commencements of the Gentile mission.*

(i.) x. 1-48. At Cæsarea Peter receives Cornelius the centurion into the Church.

(ii.) xi. 1-18. At Jerusalem he defends his action before them *that were of the circumcision.*

(iii.) xi. 19-27. Those who had been dispersed by reason of the persecution preached the Gospel to the Gentiles at Antioch of Syria; Barnabas is sent to them; he sends to Tarsus for Saul; together they preach there *for a whole year; at Antioch the disciples were first named Christians.*

(iv.) xi. 28-30. Agabus foretells a great famine, which shortly comes to pass; the Church at Antioch succours that at Jerusalem through Barnabas and Saul (*cp.* xii. 25).

(v.) xii. 1-25. Herod Agrippa I. puts James the Greater to the sword; he imprisons Peter who, however, is released by an Angel, after which he leaves the Holy City: *He went into another place;* Herod is struck by God; his death; the Church increases; the famine at Jerusalem ends, and Barnabas and Saul return to Antioch with John Mark.

II. XIII-XX. St. Paul's Missionary Journeys.

(i.) xiii-xv. 35. *The First Mission and the Council at Jerusalem.*

(*a*) Barnabas, Saul, and John Mark sail from Seleucia, the port of Antioch, to Cyprus; Sergius Paulus, the Proconsul, is converted; Bar-Jesu, or Elymas, is stricken with blindness for withstanding Saul, xiii. 1-13.

(*b*) Saul—henceforward known by his Roman name as Paul—goes with Barnabas to Pamphylia and thence to Antioch of Pisidia, but Mark leaves them and returns to Jerusalem. Paul's sermon at Antioch; the Jews reject his doctrine, and Paul turns to the Gentiles; many of these enter the Church, but Paul and Barnabas have to fly to Iconium, xiii. 13-52.

(*c*) They preach for *a long time* in Iconium, but are again driven out by the Jews; they fly to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia. At Lystra Paul heals a man lame from his birth; the populace take them for gods, and call Barnabas Jupiter and Paul Mercury. Once more they are driven out by Jews, who have followed them from Antioch and Iconium, and who stone Paul. After preaching in Derbe they return on their footsteps through Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, Perge, and Attalia, whence they take ship for Antioch in Syria; they remain there *no small time*, xiv. 1-27.

(*d*) A crisis in the Church owing to the action of those who maintained that circumcision was necessary for all who would enter the Church (*cf.* xi. 2). Paul and Barnabas are delegated by the Church at Antioch to discuss the matter with the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem, xv. 1-3.

(*e*) The Council held at Jerusalem; Paul and Barnabas are received by the Jerusalem Church; the Pharisees

who have become Christians demand of the converted Gentiles the observance of the whole Mosaic Law, xv. 4-29.

(i.) Paul and Barnabas are received by the Jerusalem Church; the Pharisees who have become Christians demand that converts from heathenism should observe the entire Mosaic Law, 4-5.

(ii.) After much deliberation in the assembly Peter decides that there is no obligation to observe the Law of Moses, 6-11.

(iii.) All hold their peace and listen to Barnabas and Paul relating what wonders have been wrought among the Gentiles, 12.

(iv.) James the Lesser, the Bishop of Jerusalem, while accepting Peter's decision, to save scandal—*for Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him in the synagogues where he is read every Sabbath*—suggests a practicable compromise, 14-21.

(v.) The assembly ratifies this proposal, and sends a decree by Judas and Silas to the Gentile Church at Antioch, 22-29.

(vi.) Peace is thus restored, and Paul and Barnabas continue to labour at Antioch as before, 30-35.

(ii.) xv. 36-xviii. 22. *The Second Missionary Journey.*

(*a*) Paul proposes to revisit the Churches founded on the previous mission; Barnabas wishes to take Mark with them, but Paul refuses on the ground that he had shrunk from the toil involved; an acrimonious dispute results, and while Barnabas goes with Mark to Cyprus, Paul takes Silas with him and, instead of going by sea, goes through Syria and Cilicia to Derbe and Lystra; on their journey they enforce the Decree of the Council. At Lystra Paul meets with Timothy, whom he circumcises and makes his companion, xv. 36-xvi. 5.

(*b*) They are forbidden by the Spirit to preach in (the Roman Province of) Asia, and are led by the Spirit to Troas on the coast; here Paul has a vision of *a man of Macedonia . . . saying: Pass over into Macedonia and help us!* He obeys the intimation, and thus the Gospel PASSED OVER INTO EUROPE, xvi. 6-10.

(*c*) The work at Philippi; the conversion of Lydia; the girl possessed by an evil spirit is delivered by Paul; her masters seize Paul; the Apostles are accused of acting against the Roman law; they are scourged and imprisoned; the prison doors are thrown open by an earthquake; the jailor and his family are converted; Paul insists on his rights as a Roman citizen and is released; they leave Philippi, xvi. 11-40.

(*d*) They pass through Amphipolis and Apollonia and come to Thessalonica; they make many converts, and are again accused by the Jews of acting contrary to the Roman law, xvii. 1-9.

(*e*) They pass on to Berea, where they are well received; but the Jews from Thessalonica pursue them, and while Silas and Timothy remain there Paul goes by sea to Athens, xvi. 10-15.

(*f*) At Athens Paul, moved by the sight of the idolatry there, and especially by seeing an altar dedicated *To the Unknown God*, preaches at the Areopagus on the True God Who should be readily known, *for in Him we live and move and have our being;* he treats of the Judgment and of the Resurrection. But he makes only a few converts, among them Denis the Areopagite, xvii. 16-34.

(*g*) He passes to Corinth, where he stays a year and six months owing to a vision wherein the Lord says to him: *I have much people in this city.* The Jews arrest him and bring him before Gallio, the new Proconsul, who, however, *cared for none of these things*, xviii. 1-17.

(*h*) After a stay of *yet many days* Paul goes with Priscilla and Aquila to Cenchra—the port of Corinth to the east—whence he sails for Ephesus, where he makes no long stay, but passes at once to Cæsarea, Jerusalem, and Antioch, xviii. 18-22.

(iii.) xviii. 23-xx. 28. *The Third Missionary Journey.*

(*a*) After *some time* at Antioch Paul again revisits the scene of his early labours. Meanwhile Apollo, a learned Alexandrian Jew, *knowing only the baptism of John*, was instructed *in the way of the Lord* by Priscilla and Aquila at Ephesus, whence he passes to Corinth, xviii. 23-28.

(*b*) Paul comes to Ephesus, where he stays two years and three months.

(i.) Here he baptizes twelve men who hitherto had only known the baptism of John; the Holy Spirit descends upon them. Paul preaches in the synagogue for three months, xix. 1-8.

(ii.) Compelled to leave the synagogue, he occupies *the school of one Tyrannus* and teaches there for *two years*, xix. 9-10.

(iii.) He works *more than common miracles;* seven sons of Sceva, a chief priest, attempt to imitate him and are punished; this produces a number of conversions, and, in consequence, magical books are publicly burnt to the value of 50,000 *pieces of silver*, xix. 11-20.

(iv.) Paul proposes to return to Jerusalem after visiting Macedonia and Achaia; he purposes to visit Rome also, xix. 21-22.

(v.) The silversmiths of the temple of Diana, feeling that they are losing their trade through Paul's numerous conversions, cause a riot, and Paul in consequence leaves Ephesus, xix. 23-xx. 1.

(*c*) The return journey to Jerusalem; Paul spends *three months* in Greece after passing through Macedonia; he then returns through Macedonia on his way to Syria; a list of those who accompanied him, xx. 2-4. Two main incidents on the route:

(i.) At Troas Paul discourses for a long time at the Breaking of Bread; he raises to life Eutychus who through fatigue had fallen down from the third story, xx. 5-12.

(ii.) The party arrives at length at Mitylene, and Paul—desirous of celebrating Pentecost at Jerusalem—is unable to revisit Ephesus, but sends for the elders of that Church to meet him at Mitylene; the charge he delivers to them there; the final parting, xx. 13-38.

III. XXI-XXVI. St. Paul's Arrest; his Imprisonment at Cæsarea; his Defence before Lysias, before the Sanhedrin, before Felix, and before Herod Agrippa II.

(i.) xxi. 1-16. The last stages of the journey; he stays *seven days* at Tyre, *a day* at Ptolemais, and *some days* at Cæsarea; in this latter place he lodges with Philip the Deacon; Agabus the Prophet (see xi. 27-28) foretells Paul's sufferings in Jerusalem.

(ii.) xxi. 17-26. Arrived at Jerusalem they go to see the Bishop, James the Lesser; he warns Paul of the prejudices existing against him; he is accused of saying that even the *Jews who are among the Gentiles* ought *to depart from the Law of Moses*. James therefore urges him to show by some concrete proof that he is still devoted to the Mosaic Law. Paul therefore undertakes to defray the cost of ceremonial purification on behalf of four Jews.

(iii.) xxi. 27-40. His enemies, however, take advantage of his presence in the Temple to accuse him of having introduced a stranger, Trophimus the Ephesian, into the portion of the Temple forbidden to non-Jews; a riot takes place and Paul is only rescued by the advent of the Tribune Lysias who gives him leave to address the people, which he does in the Hebrew tongue.

(iv.) xxii. 1-30. He recounts to them the story of his life and of his conversion to Christianity; but when he says that the Lord in a vision had said to him, *Unto the Gentiles*

afar off will I send thee, the riot is renewed, and the Tribune rescues him with difficulty. He orders him to be scourged, but Paul again insists on his rights as a Roman citizen, whereon he is brought on the next day before the Sanhedrin.

(v.) xxiii. 1-10. His speech before the Sanhedrin; the High Priest Ananias orders him to be struck on the mouth for blasphemy; Paul's retort. Knowing that no justice will be done him in that assembly, he contrives to set the Pharisees against the Sadducees who form the dominant and Romanizing class. Owing to the resulting uproar, Paul is once more lodged in the castle by the Tribune.

(vi.) xxiii. 11-35. A vision is vouched him in the night: *Be constant, for as thou hast testified of Me in Jerusalem, so must you bear witness also at Rome.* The Jews make a plot to destroy Paul, but this plot is revealed by Paul's sister's son to the Tribune; the latter sends him with an escort of two hundred and seventy men to Cæsarea to Felix the Governor with a letter in which he states the facts of the case.

(vii.) xxiv. 1-22. The Sanhedrin come down to Cæsarea and plead their cause against Paul through an orator, Tertullus by name. Paul denies their statements, defies them to prove them, declares that as a good Jew he hopes for a resurrection, points out that as a fact he had come to Jerusalem with alms for his nation and in order to fulfil the precepts of the very law which they accuse him of infringing. Lastly, he points out that his real accusers are not present. Felix defers decision.

(viii. xxiv. 23-27. But Paul is detained a prisoner at Cæsarea for *two years;* he preaches before Felix who is terrified.

(ix.) xxv. 1-12. When Felix is replaced by Festus, the new Governor, the Sanhedrin renew their demand for a trial at Jerusalem, *laying wait to kill him in the way.* Festus appoints a trial at Cæsarea. Paul defends himself; he has offended neither against the Jewish Law, nor against the Temple, nor against Cæsar. Festus proposes to him to go to Jerusalem to be tried there; but Paul, foreseeing the inevitable result of such a trial, appeals to Cæsar.

(x.) xxv. 13-xxvi. 32. Herod Agrippa II. comes down to salute Festus; the latter tells him of Paul's case and of the flimsiness of the charges against him, also of his appeal to Cæsar. Paul pleads before Herod as before a Jew; he tells of his life and of his conversion; he says that the only crime of which he is guilty is that of believing in Moses and the Prophets: *That Christ should suffer, and that He should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light to the people and to the Gentiles.* Agrippa is much moved, and says: *This man might have been set at liberty if he had not appealed to Cæsar!*

IV. XXVII-XXVIII. PAUL'S JOURNEY TO ROME; HIS SHIPWRECK; ARRIVAL AT ROME; HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE JEWS THERE; HE IS DETAINED *two whole years in his own hired lodging, and he received all that came to him.*

(i.) xxvii. 1-4. They sail in *a ship of Adrumetum* to Lystra, where they transhipped into *a ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy;* after passing Crete they run into a storm, and after a fortnight's tossing the ship is wrecked in the Adriatic Sea.

(ii.) xxviii. 1-10. They remain on the island where they are thrown, namely Malta, for three months; during this time Paul cures the father of Publius, the chief man, of a grave illness.

(iii.) xxviii. 11-16. The journey to Rome is resumed in another *ship of Alexandria,* and after three days at Syracuse, one at Rhegium, and seven days at Puteoli, they reach Rome by Appii Forum and the Three Taverns.

(iv.) xxviii. 17-22. On the third day after his arrival Paul sends for the chief of the Jews; he insists on his innocence as regards the Jewish Law, points out that the Roman authorities would have set him free, but that it was his own nation that compelled him to appeal to Cæsar.

(v.) xxviii. 23-29. At the request of the Jews Paul *expounded, testifying the kingdom of God, and persuading them concerning Jesus, out of the Law of Moses and the Prophets, from morning until evening;* few believe him, and he is compelled to reiterate what he had so often said in the course of his missionary career: *this salvation of God is sent to the* GENTILES, *and they hear it.*

(vi.) xxviii. 30-31. The narrative closes with a summary of Paul's life in prison during the two years.

C. The Object and Scope of Acts.

(*a*) The object and scope of *Acts* is perhaps best indicated by the title; this should not be translated "*The* Acts of *the* Apostles," but simply "Acts of Apostles," Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων; in *Codex Vaticanus, B*,[1] and in *Codex Sinaiticus*, ℵ, we find simply "Acts." On the supposition, then, that the title is St. Luke's, he did not intend to treat of *all* the "acts" of *all* the Apostles; he made a selection with a definite object in view. What this object was can only rightly be determined when we bear in mind that the

[1] It is surprising that Rackham, *The Westminster Commentary*, p. xiii, should translate this *The Acts of the Apostles.* See St. Jerome, *Vir. Illustr.* VII, *P.L.* XXIII. 619.

volume is a sequel to the *Third Gospel*, and that one of the main ideas of the latter is the Universality of Salvation. We must further bear in mind that the author, St. Luke, was not simply the "sectator Pauli," he was also a Greek with strong Roman prepossessions. The universality of salvation made appeal to both these characteristics, for it held a predominant place in St. Paul's theology, and the Græco-Roman Luke, writing to a Roman, Theophilus, would take an interest in showing how Christianity was introduced into the Roman Empire by one who was a Roman citizen, by one, too, who saw in Roman Imperial methods the best hope for the speedy and universal propagation of Christianity. At the same time the author's devotion to St. Paul would give a certain apologetic character to his work, *viz.* the defence of the Apostle's true character and work. But that this latter is not St. Luke's main theme will be at once evident from the *Analysis* given above. There it will be seen that chaps. i-xii. treat of St. Peter's work, chaps. xiii-xxviii. of St. Paul's work. What motived the author in thus concentrating attention on these two Apostles? Why does he not give us the "Acts" of James, or John, or Philip? It cannot be simply because Peter and Paul were the "Princes of the Apostles"; nor because Luke had more detailed information regarding their work, though this is of course true, at least as far as St. Paul is concerned. The object he had in view, *viz.* the introduction of the Church into the world and its marvellously speedy propagation, must have motived this choice.[1] Now this object is set before us in the words of the ascending Christ given in i. 8, "You shall be witnesses unto Me in *Jerusalem*, and in all *Judæa*, and *Samaria*, and even to the *uttermost part of the earth*." The spreading of the Gospel in Jerusalem, Judæa, and Samaria was the task of St. Peter and, incidentally, of the other Apostles as well. Its extension to the uttermost part of the earth was the work, primarily, of St. Paul. When we thus grasp St. Luke's object we can readily understand his omission of so much that we should have liked to learn.

[1] See *Expositor*, December, 1914, March, 1915; St. Augustine, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, xi. (30); also Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I. 3, 9, 26, 46, 67; II. 13, 79, etc.

Thus St. Paul's Epistles show us many a gap in *Acts*, *e.g.* 2 Cor. xi. 24-27 hints at many details in St. Paul's life concerning which *Acts* is silent, *cf.* Gal. i. 17. Hence we are not presented with a full biography either of St. Peter or of St. Paul; each is portrayed simply from the standpoint of the share he had in securing the spread of the Gospel; hence the tantalizing remark with which the history of St. Peter concludes, xii. 17; hence, too, the equally tantalizing conclusion in xxviii. 30. The author's ideal is universal salvation, not its universal realization; Rom. i. 16 might have stood for his theme: *I am not ashamed of the Gospel, for it is the power of God unto salvation, to everyone that believeth, to the Jew first and to the Greek.* St. Jerome's remarks on Luke's omissions in *Acts* are worth recalling:

"Luke passed over Paul's sojourn in Arabia, perhaps because he did nothing there which concerned his Apostolate; perhaps, too, because Luke prefers to give us in compendious form those things which seemed to concern the Gospel of Christ. . . . After all, of what interest is it to me to read that after Christ's revelation to him Paul went straight to Arabia, and that from Arabia he straightway went to Damascus, unless I am told what he did there? What profit is there in learning of his goings and comings?"[1]

Similarly, apropos of St. Paul's "withstanding Peter to the face," he says:

"Luke the historian makes no mention of this dissension, neither does he anywhere say that Peter was with Paul at Antioch. . . . But it can be no marvel if Luke keeps silence on this point, for with an historian's licence he passes over many other things which Paul tells us he underwent. It is no contradiction if one passes over what another for some reason thinks fit to recount!"[2]

(*b*) But while it remains true that *Acts* does not contain a history of the Apostles, the book still justifies its title in a way that is often overlooked. For just as the Gospels show us what the Apostles were meant to be, so *Acts* shows us the position they occupied in the mind of the early Church.

[1] *Comment. in Ep. ad Galatas* i. 17, *P.L.* XXVI. 328. Note, too, how Origen comments on the fact that the Apostle did not preach at Tarsus, *Tom.* X. 18 *in Matth., ed.* Delarue, III. 465.

[2] *Ibid.* on ii. 11, *P.L.* XXVI. 341. On *The Historical Value of Acts*, see *R.B.*, January, 1915; for the plan and purpose of *Acts*, *cf. Expos. Times*, December, 1914, September, 1917.

Thus Our Lord's commands are for them alone, i. 2; they alone are named apart from the main body, i. 13; St. Peter is the natural leader of the band, i. 15 and *passim;* indeed, chaps. i-xii. (xv.) might be fairly called a treatise on the Primacy of St. Peter; the precise number of the Apostles has a peculiar significance—it is of obligation to fill up any gaps in it, i. 21-26; they speak as a body, ii. 14, v. 29, 40-42, vi. 2; they are essentially "witnesses," ii. 32, iii. 15, v. 32, x. 39-41, *cf.* Luke xxiv. 48; they—apart from the body of the disciples—are addressed by would-be converts, ii. 37; they are truly the centre of the picture, ii. 42, iv. 35, 37, v. 13, viii. 1, xi. 1, 22, xiii. 31; they alone—at first—confer the Holy Spirit, viii. 15-18, x. 44-45; they alone ordain, vi. 6; they alone work "signs," ii. 43, iv. 33, v. 12; they alone are arrested, v. 18, xii. 1-3; they alone—at first—preach, v. 40-42; they alone, as a body, remain in Jerusalem, viii. 1; they are known as the companions of Jesus, iv. 13; they are quite clearly marked off from the general body of disciples, ii. 37; *cp.* ix. 1-2, 19, 26, 27, 38, also xiv. 13, where Paul and Barnabas are expressly called "Apostles," *cp.* xv. 2.

(*c*) **St. Luke's Method.**—We shall get a clearer idea of the principles on which St. Luke has compiled his history if we examine somewhat in detail a concrete instance. In vii. 57-59, apropos of the martyrdom of Stephen, we are introduced to the future Apostle of the Gentiles through whose ministry the Church was to take its most gigantic step and free itself from the shackles of Judaism. But the historian does not proceed at once to tell of Saul's conversion; he adheres to the chronological order observed in the spread of Christianity. The first result of the persecution which centred round the figure of Stephen was a dispersion of the disciples—not of the Apostles, viii. 1. But before dealing with this dispersal and its effects St. Luke inserts a statement as to Stephen's funeral and another about the fury with which Saul now took up the work of persecuting, 2-3; he then takes up the thread introduced in ver. 1, and tells us how the Gospel spread into Samaria, thence to Gaza, Azotus, and Cæsarea. He then, ix, describes the conversion of the chief cause of this dispersion, namely Saul,[1]

[1] How real a thing was this conversion is well brought out by St. Chrysostom: "Had he wished to please men, he certainly never would have been converted to the faith. How so? Because he was held in great esteem by the Jews, he was a prey to no anxieties, he was the recipient of many honours. He would not then have given himself up to the Apostolic life, so beset with dangers, so held up to contempt, and so replete with trials. Consequently, the very fact that he sacrificed the honour due to his position among the Jews, that he gave up his ease and exchanged these things for the life of an Apostle,

and incidentally gives a view of the Church as already existing at Damascus, 1-25. But in truly Lukan fashion he brings up the story of Saul to date by leaving him at Tarsus until the chronological development of the story of the spread of the Gospel demands his presence on the scene, ix. 26-30. We said "in truly Lukan fashion" because this same feature is so noticeable in the *Third Gospel*. To take but a few examples: in Luke i-ii. note how he tells first of the conception of the Baptist, then of the conception of Christ, then he goes back to the Baptist and describes his birth, then he returns to Christ and describes His birth. Note, too, i. 56, words from which a person not familiar with Luke's method might conclude that Our Lady was not present at the Baptist's birth. We discover the same feature again in the way in which Christ's genealogy is tucked in between the account of His baptism and the temptation, iii. 23-iv. 1.

To return to the narrative in *Acts:* St. Paul is left at Tarsus, ix. 30, and Luke proceeds to give us certain later developments of the dispersion, *viz.* the consequent Apostolic visitation of the Church in Cæsarea, etc., and the resulting conversion of the Gentiles who were indeed already proselytes, ix. 31-xi. 18. At the same time he drops a hint touching a weak spot in the Church, the source, too, whence were to flow grave troubles later on, x. 28, 45, xi. 1-3, 18. That his main preoccupation is the spread of Christianity is evident from viii. 12, 25, 40, ix. 31, xi. 26, where it is stated at least implicitly, and ix. 42, xi. 21, 24, xii. 24, where it is stated explicitly.

Despite, however, the opposition hinted at above, *viz.* from the more Jewish members of the Church, the dispersion due to the persecution produces its logical effect: the evangelization of the Gentiles *en bloc*, xi. 19-21, with a consequent widening of the rift between the narrower Judaic outlook and the broader views of those who realized that God's salvation could not possibly be limited to the bounds of Judaism, xi. 22. It was only natural that Luke the Gentile should point out that the emissary of the Jerusalem

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which laid him open to death in various forms—all this affords no small proof that Paul was not converted for any merely human reasons" (*De Mutatione Nominum*, II. 6; *ed.* Gaume, III. 128).

Church, Barnabas, being "full of the Spirit," rejoiced at the conversion of the Gentiles and fetched Paul as being *the* man for the occasion, xi. 22-25. Naturally, too, he points out that to a Gentile Church was reserved the glory of first receiving the name of Christian, xi. 26. Further still, by the irony of fate it is Paul, the representative of all that is most distasteful to the growing Judaic element at Jerusalem, who ministers to the material needs of the Jerusalem Church, xi. 27-30. Luke is at pains, too, to date all this carefully by inserting between the beginning and end of the story of the relief afforded in the famine the story of Herod's imprisonment of St. Peter, the latter's withdrawal to "another place," and Herod's apparently immediate death. The conclusion of the history of the ministry and of this first phase in Church history is the introduction of St. Mark, who is to figure so prominently later on, xii. 12, 25.

When we pass from what we may term the "Petrine" portion of Acts, *viz.* chaps. i-xii., to what may well be called the "Pauline" portion, we seem to pass into a different world. Moreover, we cannot but notice with what really dramatic skill St. Luke has prepared for the transition. We say "dramatic," for what could be more so than the closing scene of Stephen's martyrdom: his murderers "laid their garments at the feet of a young man whose name was Saul . . . and Saul was consenting to their sin"? How strikingly the following chapter, viii, is introduced by a reference—only a passing one it is true—to the fury of Saul's persecution of the Church! Then comes the ninth chapter with the story of Saul's conversion, in itself a sufficiently dramatic event, and heightened in the telling by the accents of the Apostle himself which one can hear—more especially when the chapter is read aloud. But he passes off the stage as suddenly as he had appeared upon it—this is, perhaps, St. Luke's way of telling us of the three years in Arabia—until, with the departure of Peter to "another place," xii. 17, the "Doctor of the Gentiles" bursts upon us seemingly in his maturity. Then the history develops; it is almost a case of "forced marches"; we pass from city to city and from land to land; we seem actually to "stand before governors and kings"; and wherever the his-

torian leads us we hear him whom the Lycaonians most fittingly called "Mercury" speaking of Christ, of His death and His resurrection, speaking, too, with such power that even the sensual Agrippa is compelled despite himself to say: "In a little thou compellest me to become a Christian." And so the history hastens on to the strange anticlimax—as it must seem at first sight—the miserable squalor of the prison in Rome.

But is this all that we are meant to gather from the story? Is it merely a graphic way of showing how Christianity spread? Is it merely a glorification of his hero, the Apostle? Some have maintained this; they even go so far as to point out to us the remarkable parallelism between the facts narrated of St. Peter and those here told us of St. Paul. Even the sermons they preached, so it is urged, have a strange similarity, the very texts of the Old Testament they quote are the same. It is Elias and Eliseus over again; the latter must be capable of as great miracles as his master!

It is here that we can test St. Luke's powers as an historian. If he is merely second-rate, if indeed we are not listening to Luke at all but to some second-century author who lived long subsequent to the events he narrates, then we shall expect to find that his narrative is but a shell without a kernel, that he has only a somewhat superficial object before him, a portrayal of a wonderful character indeed, a record of unflinching heroism in face of difficulties, and an account of how Christianity spread. A great task, even this, yet hardly worthy of a great historian. But if we can trace a deep underlying purpose which will explain why certain events are given and certain others not, which will reveal to us why such disproportionate space is allotted to some events and so little to others, why, for instance, he devotes xxi. 17-xxiv. 25 to events which only cover twelve days, whereas in xxiv. 26-27 he comprises the events of two years, why, again, chaps. xxv. 1-xxviii. 7 deal with a period of five months, and xxviii. 8-11 with two months—if we can discover the purpose of this, some principle which shall, in fine, serve as a key to the whole of the author's procedure, then we shall discover Luke the historian.

An examination of chaps. xxi-xxiv. will serve to explain what we mean: in xxi. 17 the Apostle arrives in Jerusalem at the close of his third missionary journey; James the Bishop tells him of the intense hostility the Judaizing section entertain for him; in fact, they secure his arrest in the Temple and nearly succeed in killing him. But the Roman Tribune, Claudias Lysias, intervenes and allows Paul to address the people. His address inflames the people still further, xxii. 1-23, and the Tribune intervenes again, though, with the rough and ready justice of the age, he orders Paul to be scourged "to know for what cause they did so cry out against him," *cp.* xvi. 19-23; but the Tribune desists when he discovers Paul is a Roman citizen; he convenes a council of the Jews so as to see that justice is done, and, xxiii. 1-10, St. Paul justifies his action. They resent his words, and a third time the Roman intervenes. That night the Apostle is told in a vision that he is to testify in Rome as well. The Jews plot his death, but this is met by a fourth intervention on the part of the Tribune, who sends him off to Cæsarea to the Roman governor, Felix, who in turn answers: "I will hear thee when thy accusers come." The latter duly arrive and plead their case, but the Apostle counters this with an absolute denial of its truth, whereupon the Roman governor "put them off . . . saying, When Lysias the Tribune shall come down I will hear you," xxiv. 22. After a few days the Apostle preaches before Felix and Drusilla, 23-26; the next verse shows us that "two years" are passed over—till Festus succeeded Felix.

Now this marked attitude of impartial fairness on the part of the Tribune and of Felix is no isolated instance in *Acts;* at Cyprus the Proconsul, Sergius Paulus, is converted, "marvelling at the doctrine of the Lord," xiii. 12; the Roman Prætors at Philippi, despite their preliminary harshness, xvi. 19-23, treat him with justice, 35; the case of Gallio, the Roman Proconsul at Corinth, is classic, "he cared for none of these things," in other words he declined to be made a party to any Jewish sectarian squabbles, xviii. 12-17; it is the same at Ephesus, where the "Asiarchs" are expressly termed Paul's "friends" and where the "town clerk" plays a most friendly part, xix. 31.

At Thessalonica the "Politarchs" were content to take security, xvii. 9, from accused Christians.

Now when we contrast this marked attitude on the part of the Roman authorities with the apathy of the authorities at Athens, for example, xvii., or the noticeable absence of any defence of Paul by those in authority at Iconium or Lystra, we get a glimpse of the underlying purpose St. Luke has in view: Christianity was contrary to no law; Jewish prejudice—even from within the Christian body—was doing its best to wreck it; Rome stood for justice and her arm stretched far. In this aspect of Roman government lay the future welfare of Christianity. St. Paul the Roman citizen and Luke the Greek historian writing to a Roman knight grasped this clearly. This, then, is the guiding thread in tracing out the details in Luke's history; once we have seized it we find that other things become clear. For instance, we are familiar with Derbe, Iconium, Lystra, and the rest because St. Paul went there; but Barada, for instance, and Laranda were equally as important as Iconium and Derbe and very close to them. Why did not the Apostle go there? There were plenty of souls to save. The answer seems to be that these cities were not Roman "Coloniæ," as the others were; there would not be there the same law and order nor the same even justice for the accused. It was on the lines of the Roman occupation, then, that the Apostle worked, and it seems clear that, humanly speaking, his mission would not have had the same chances had he gone off this line.

One can well imagine that during the three imprisonments which they practically shared together—though Luke was apparently free to come and go—the Apostle and his "most dear physician" must often have talked of these things and of the calm confidence which their long experience of Roman justice had begotten in them; this explains, perhaps, the atmosphere of serene expectation which characterizes the letters written from Rome during Paul's first captivity there, *e.g.* Phil. i. 20-26, Col. iv. 3-4, 14, and *cp.* 2 Tim. iv. 16 and note ver. 11.[1]

We said above that when we passed from chaps., i-xii. to

[1] It is to Sir William Ramsay that we are more especially indebted for this aspect of St. Luke as an historian. See especially his *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 130 *ff.* and 305 *ff.*

chaps. xiii. to the close we seemed to pass into another world. Much of what has been said will serve to explain this. But there is another feature which the story of the various examinations which St. Paul underwent brings into prominence: the whole controversy had changed now. For the question was not now whether the Messias had come or not—for that Peter and John as well as the rest of the Apostles had suffered; the question for which St. Paul stood was whether, having come, the salvation the Messias had wrought was for all men alike, the Gentile as well as the Jew. It was Universalism which was at stake. This again, serves to explain why he felt so impelled to work the lines of Roman expansion: not only would the Romans be just, but through them, their military roads and their far-flung Empire, he could reach "the nations that sat in darkness and in the shadow of death."

(*d*) **Certain Points of Interest.**—There are certain other features in this history of the infant Church which repay attention. Throughout the whole story there is a note of enthusiasm which is positively infectious as we read it chapter by chapter. When once this tone of the story is caught the reader finds himself carried from chapter to chapter, so that—incredible though it may seem to those who have never experienced it—he finds it hard to lay the book down. Thus note the constantly repeated references to the joy which marked those early days, ii. 46, v. 41, viii. 9, etc. At the same time there is a pervading sense of awe, *e.g.* ii. 43, v. 5, 11. The growth of the Church is of course the main theme, but it is surprising how often St. Luke refers to it, i. 15, ii. 41, 47, iv. 4, v. 14, vi. 1, 7, viii. 6, 25, 27, 40, ix. 2, 32, 42, xi. 19, 21, 24, 26, xii. 24, etc. Then there is the large part played by miracle as an argument for the faith, *e.g.* ii. 22, and we note how many miracles the Apostles worked, ii. 43, iii. 1-10, iv. 16, 30, v. 12, 15-16, viii. 6-8, etc. In the eyes of many not the least of these miracles must have been the conversion of so many priests, vi. 7, and even Pharisees, xv. 5.

The Apostles were the chosen "witnesses" of Christ, and it is of interest to note what they taught in this capacity. Jesus of Nazareth was the Messias and He was the Son of God, ii. 36, viii. 37, ix. 20. They point out that the Jews

had been blind to the fact that their own Prophets had declared that the Messias was to suffer, iii. 18; it is worth while noting in this connection St. Peter's use of the formula "Jesus Christ of Nazareth," iii. 6, iv. 10, x. 38; they teach, too, that this same Christ is to judge the world, xvii. 31. But the prime truth they insist on, and of which they were the constituted "witnesses," ii. 32, iii. 15, etc., is the resurrection of Christ, ii. 24-32, iii. 15, 21, iv. 1, 10, 33, x. 40, xiii. 30-31, 38, xvii. 3, 31, etc. And as the result of Christ's sufferings and Resurrection they teach the remission of sins, ii. 38, iii. 19, v. 31, x. 43, xiii. 38, xxii. 16, xxvi. 18.

Other interesting points that emerge are that even from the outset St. Peter had understood the call of the Gentiles and had not to wait till the episode of Cornelius; thus note in his first address to the people his remark that "the promise is to you and to all that are afar off," ii. 39, and in his second address "to you first . . . God hath sent His Son," iii. 26, and compare St. Paul's words "to you it behoved us first to speak," xiii. 46. It is also of interest to note how, in ii. 40, St. Luke presents us with what he explicitly declares to be merely an abbreviated form of the various sermons. Then, again, we are allowed to catch more than one glimpse of the favour with which these early preachers of Christianity were regarded by the populace, ii. 47, v. 13, 26. As an indication of the favour with which the Jewish religion had come to be regarded in heathen lands we note the many references to proselytes, ii. 5, x. 2, 7, xiii. 16, 43, 50, etc. This was doubtless divinely intended in order to prepare the way for Christianity.

The character of the early communities appears in their adoption of common life, *e.g.* ii. 44-45, iv. 32, 34-37, vi. 1; also in the very evils which so speedily strove to find an entrance, v. 1-11, vi. 1, viii. 9, xi. 2, xiii. 45, xv. 2. The corporate character of the Church appears in many ways, *e.g.*, in the function of "laying on of hands," vi. 6, xiii. 3, xiv. 22; notably, too, in the declarations of the Council held at Jerusalem, xv. 28. Yet withal the Church is something divine; its Head is the Risen Christ Whom Stephen sees "standing at the right hand of God," vii. 55; the Holy Spirit guides it at every turn, and the ministry of Angels is constantly apparent, v. 19, vii. 53, viii. 26, x. 3, xii. 7, 23, etc.

The new religion was spoken of as essentially "the way," ix. 2, xiii. 10, xvi. 17, xvii. 4, xviii. 17, 25, 26, xix. 9, 17, xxi. 28, xxii. 4, xxiv. 22, and *cp.* Heb. x. 20, "A new and living way which He hath dedicated for us," and 2 Peter ii. 2, 15, "the way of truth" and "the right way."

The Sacramental life of the Church is sketched with a fulness which comes as a surprise to those who do not expect to find it. Thus Baptism is constantly referred to; so, too, the bestowal of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Eucharist is unquestionably referred to in xx. 7, 11, and the use of the expression "break bread" in ii. 46 and xxvii. 35 may be pressed, since the Greek verb used here is that which only occurs in connection with the Eucharist or the miracles which prefigured it, *cp.* Matt. xiv. 19, xv. 36, xxvi. 28, Mark vi. 41, viii. 6, 19, xiv. 22, Luke ix. 16, xxii. 19, xxiv. 30, and 1 Cor. xi. 23. Confession is not so clear, but *cf.* what we pointed out above about the remission of sins, and *cp.* xix. 18.

D. Extrinsic Confirmations of St. Luke's Historical Accuracy.

i. In x. 1 St. Luke gives the story of Cornelius, who is described as a centurion of "the Italian cohort" stationed at Cæsarea. Confirmation of this is found in Josephus who tells us that when Herod Agrippa I. died the soldiers stationed at Cæsarea and Sebaste—the ancient Samaria—showed the most indecent joy, even going so far as to insult the late king's daughters. Whereupon the Emperor Claudius ordered the removal of "the body of soldiers that were at Cæsarea and Sebaste," while arranging for "an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria to supply their place."[1] But a further confirmation is derived from an inscription discovered in Carnuntum in 1895:

> Optio coh(ortis) II Italic(æ) civium R(omanorum centuria) F(aus)tini ex vexil(lariis) Sagit(tariis) exercitus Syriace.

Epigraphists date this from the early Emperors or the first century A.D., and as Josephus has already told us that

[1] *Ant.* XIX. ix. 1-2.

such troops were at Cæsarea about A.D. 44, there is no reason why the "Italic cohort" referred to in the inscription and in *Acts* may not have been there at the date suggested by St. Luke.

ii. In Acts xiv. 6-17 St. Luke describes how, consequent on St. Paul's cure of the lame man, the people took Paul and Barnabas for Jupiter and Mercury or Hermes. Ovid's story of the visit paid by these two deities to Baucis and Philemon is familiar. It is not so well known, however, that Ovid lays the scene on the borders of a lake in Phrygia; and the Lystra of Acts xiv. is in Phrygian Lycaonia; moreover, it is the native populace that so named the Apostles: "they lifted up their voice in the Lycaonian tongue." A startling confirmation of what at first sight seems an unlikely event in this remote region is furnished by an inscription in Greek discovered in the summer of 1908 by Sir William Ramsay and Mr. W. M. Calder at a place called Balaclava, on the shores of Lake Trogitis. It runs:

> Toues Macrinus, also called Abaskantus,
> And Batasis, son of Bretasis, made
> In accordance with a vow, and at their own expense,
> (A statue of) Hermes Most Great, along with a
> Sundial, and dedicated it to Zeus the Sun-God.

iii. The inscription which St. Paul says that he saw on an altar in Athens, "To the Unknown God," and which served him as the text for his sermon in chap. xvii, finds an interesting parallel in the pedestal of a statue now in the British Museum, and bearing an inscription to the effect that it had been restored, "whether sacred to god or goddess."

iv. So, too, St. Luke's reference to the "Politarchs," or "rulers of the city," at Thessalonica has long remained an isolated statement finding no parallel in classical literature. But now we possess several Greek inscriptions mentioning "Politarchs," and more than all, one from Salonika itself, telling us of various people who there filled the office of "Politarch"; it appears that these officials were seven in number, and it is interesting to note among the names three which coincide with the names of companions of the Apostle, Sopater, Gaius, and Secundus. This inscription is now in the British Museum, No. 171 in the collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

v. St. Luke tells us that in Ephesus there were "Asiarchs," and the "town clerk" figures prominently in the scene with the riotous goldsmiths. On many inscriptions from Ephesus the title "Asiarch" appears, but one is peculiarly interesting from the fact that "the town clerk" is there said to be actually exercising the office of an "Asiarch."[1]

vi. In Acts vi. 9 we read that "some of that which is called the synagogue of the Libertines" rose up against Stephen. A Greek inscription was discovered on Ophel in the winter of 1913-14—but only published in 1920—which may actually show us who the founder of this synagogue was, and, incidentally, the many purposes which such synagogues were intended to serve. The inscription runs:

> Theodotus son of Vettinus, priest and
> ruler of the Synagogue, son of a ruler of the Synagogue, grandson of a Ruler of the Synagogue, built
> this Synagogue for the reading
> of the Law and the teaching of the Commandments, also
> the hostel and the rooms and the water-
> supply as an inn for
> them that come from foreign lands. This
> his fathers established and the elders and Simonides.

Mons. Clermont Ganneau and others seem inclined to assign this inscription to the middle of the first century, but P. Hugues Vincent, O.P.,[2] is inclined to think that it should rather be referred to the opening of the century. That Theodotus was a freedman is evident from his name, that his ancestors had been slaves in Rome, and therefore were probably deported thither when Pompey captured the Holy City in 64 B.C., seems also to follow from the Latin name he bears. It is clear that this synagogue must have been a large establishment.

E. Some Confirmations of the Historical Accuracy of *Acts* derived from St. Paul's *Epistles*.

The Relationship between *Acts* and St. Paul's *Epistles*.—If the Apostle was the "illuminator Lucæ" and Luke the "sectator Pauli" we shall expect to be able to trace a

[1] See Conybeare and Howson, *ed.* 1870, p. 425.
[2] *R.B.*, *April*, 1921.

certain similarity between their respective writings. At the same time it would be hard to point to any indications in *Acts* that Luke was acquainted with the text of any of the *Epistles*. Indeed, an absolute conformity as regards the material questions of time, place, and circumstances would itself be open to suspicion; we should feel sceptical did we discover an exact correspondence between Napoleon's official letters and an historical account of his wars written by one of his Generals. Still, Luke must be expected to show an acquaintance with St. Paul's mind; there must be, that is, a certain material conformity in language, in historical and geographical allusions, between *Acts* and the *Epistles*, and we shall expect to find references to certain events in St. Paul's life; as an instance of this last point note the allusion to the collection of alms, Acts xxiv. 17, 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4, 2 Cor. viii.-ix.[1] There must also be what we may term "formal" conformity, *viz.* in ideas, in theological teaching, in style, in the point of view adopted, as well as in certain technical expressions, etc. Lastly, there must be conformity in the great main lines on which St. Paul acted, thus *cp.* Rom. i. 16, ii. 6-16, iii. 9, 23, 29, iv. 16, and Acts i. 8, ix. 15, xxii. 21, xxvi. 20-21.

F. The Relationship between *Acts* and the *Third Gospel*.

The same line of argument may be used to show the mutual relationship between the *Third Gospel* and *Acts*. Thus the *material* conformity appears (*a*) in certain words

[1] At certain points *Acts* touches on the *Epistles*, *e.g.* the case of the widows, vi. 1, *cp.* 1 Tim. v. 9; St. Paul's conversion, ix., etc., *cp.* 1 Tim. i. 13; his escape, ix. 25, *cp.* 2 Cor. xi. 32; the reference to St. James, xxi., and Gal. ii. 9; St. Paul's persecution in Galatia, xiii-xiv., *cp.* 2 Tim. iii. 11; his sufferings in Macedonia, *cp.* Phil. i. 30; the account of Timothy, xvi. 1-3, *cp.* Phil. ii. 19-23; his teaching at Athens, xvi., *cp.* Rom. i. 17-32; his quotations from Aratus, xvii. 28, *cp.* 1 Cor. xv. 33; Tit. i. 12; his labouring with his own hands, xviii. 3; xx. 34; *cp.* 1 Cor. iv. 12; 2 Cor. xi. 8-10; 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8; the collection of alms, xxiv. 17, *cp.* Rom. xv. 25; 1 Cor. xvi.; 2 Cor. viii-ix.; his desire to visit Rome, xix. 21; *cp.* Rom. i. 13; the presence of Aristarchus on his voyage to Rome, xxvii. 2, *cp.* Col. iv. 10.

and expressions common to both;[1] (*b*) in the use of what we may term certain "catch-words"; for just as the use of τότε is characteristic of St. Matthew, καὶ and εὐθέως of St. Mark, μετὰ ταῦτα of St. John, so καὶ ἐγένετο or ἐγένετο δὲ are characteristic of St. Luke, who uses these expressions some forty-five times in his *Gospel* and thirty-seven times in *Acts;* (*c*) the two books draw upon much the same "sources,"[2] *e.g.* Our Blessed Lady and some official of Herod's court. (*d*) There also exists a remarkable parallelism in construction between the *Third Gospel* and *Acts:*

The Gospel.	*The Acts.*
i. 1-4. Prologue.	i. 1-2. Prologue.
i-ii. The Preparation.	i. The Preparation.
iii. The Baptism of the Holy Spirit.	ii. The Baptism of the Holy Spirit.
iv-xxi. The Work.	iii-xxi. 16. The Work.
xxii-xxiii. The Passion.	xxi. 17-xxviii. The Passion.

This appears even in details:

The Gospel.	*The Acts.*
ix. 51. The anticipation of the Passion.	xix. 21. The anticipation of the Passion.
ix. 51-xix. 48. The detailed journey to Jerusalem.	xx-xxi. 17. The detailed journey to Jerusalem.
xx-xxi. The Last Words.	xx. 17-38. The Last Words.

What we have termed the *formal* conformity appears in (*a*) the artistic character of both volumes, thus *cp.* Luke xxiv. and Acts x., also the story of the Widow of Naim, Luke vii. and that of Eutychus, Acts xx. (*b*) In both St. Luke depicts the same characters for us, *e.g.* the women, the poor, and the penitents. Lastly, the *final* conformity appears in the common standpoint adopted, the universality of salvation is the theme, *cp.* Luke iv. and Acts xiii.; and while the Gospel treats of those "things which Jesus began to do and to teach" upon earth, Acts i. 1, *Acts* treats of those things which He continued to do when in heaven, through the medium of the Apostles.

[1] See below, p. 30.

[2] See *Introduction to St. Luke's Gospel*, vol. i, pp. 256 *ff.* For the possibility of St. Mark being a "source" used by Luke in Acts i-xiv., see *R.B.*, January, 1921.

That St. Luke was an eye-witness[1] of much at least of what he relates in *Acts* is evident from the fact that he uses the first person in chaps. xvi. 10-17, xx. 5-xxviii. 16, and, according to *Codex Bezæ*, in xi. 27-28, for between these two verses this Codex inserts the words: "Era(n)t autem magna exultatio; revertentibus autem *nobis*," an insertion which may have led to the notion that Luke was an Antiochian, *cf.* Eusebius and St. Jerome, *infra*. These "'we' sections," as they are not inaptly termed, have been called the "travel document," and they certainly look like pages of Luke's diary. Inasmuch, too, as they break off at Philippi, in xvi. 17, and are resumed again at Philippi, xx. 6, they bear the impress of truth, since they imply that Luke was left at Philippi to consolidate the newly-founded Church in that city, and that he only rejoined the Apostle as the latter was returning to Jerusalem from his third missionary journey. But even when not present himself, Luke had admirable opportunities for gaining first-hand information touching St. Paul's work; we have only to notice the persons and places he names to see how ample were the sources at his disposal. Thus he mentions Silas (of Jerusalem and Antioch), xv-xviii, Timothy of Lystra, xvi. 1, xix. 22, xx. 4; Erastus of Corinth, xix. 22, *cp.* Rom. xvi. 23, 2 Tim. iv. 20; Aristarchus of Thessalonica, xix. 29, xx. 4, xxvii. 2, *cp.* Col. iv. 10, Phile. 24; Sopater of Berea, xx. 4; Tychicus of Ephesus, xx. 4, *cp.* Ephes. vi. 21, Col. iv. 7, 2 Tim. iv. 12, Tit. iii. 12; Trophimus of Asia, xx. 4, xxi. 29, *cp.* 2 Tim. iv. 20. In the account of St. Paul's first missionary journey, xiii-xiv., we have no "we" section, yet the whole account reads like that of an eye-witness. If St. Luke was an Antiochian, as the addition in *Codex Bezæ*, xi. 27-28, suggests, he might have been with Paul and Barnabas on this first mission, though the whole evidence of the "we" sections is against this supposition. Still, there is no reason why Luke should not have had a full account from Mark who was present, *cf.* Col. iv. 10, 14, or from Paul himself.[2]

The same must be said of chaps. i-xii or, perhaps,

[1] See *Muratorian Fragment* above: "quæ *sub præsentia ejus* singula gerebantur."

[2] See on the identity of Titus in the *Introduction to the Pastoral Epistles*, p. 241-2.

i-xvi. 5, at which points the first "we" section begins. For in these earlier chapters we have the testimony of an ear-witness rather than that of an eye-witness. We can only gauge the author's fidelity here by the analogy of his treatment of his material in chaps. xiii (or xvi. 6)-xxviii. and in his *Gospel;* for it is rarely that we can find an extrinsic criterion, *e.g.* in the writings of Josephus, Tacitus, or Suetonius, such as, for instance, is afforded by v. 36. But it should be remembered that St. Luke has, humanly speaking, as much right to be heard as these profane authors. For in these earlier chapters Luke is a collector of traditions, as in his *Gospel;* during his sojourn at Cæsarea, xxi-xxiii., he would have had ample opportunity for collecting such traditions from St. Philip, xxi. 8, as also from St. James, xxi. 18. At Antioch he would be able to derive information from Barnabas, from Simeon Niger, xiii. 1, from Lucius of Cyrene, iv. 36-37, ix. 26-30, xv. 22-40. For his knowledge of Herod's court he would have drawn upon Menahen, xii. 20-23, xiii. 1, xxv. 13; *cp.* Luke xxiii. 7-12. For other portions he could have derived assistance from St. Paul himself, *e.g.* ix. 1-30; perhaps, too, for vi. 8-viii. 3; similarly from St. Mark for xii. 1-19. How large a part St. Philip may have played as Luke's informant will be evident from vi. 1-7, viii. 4-40, ix. 31-xi. 18. It is well, too, to realize the influence St. John may have had in the compilation of *Acts.* His *Acta* are not given, but notice the Johannine tone of i. 4, 7, ii. 13, and *cp.* the account of the cure of the lame man in Acts iii. with that in John v. and ix. Compare, too, the "wonderment" in iii. 10, 11, 12, with John v. 20, 28, vii. 21; similarly note the use of the term "glorify" in iii. 13 and in John ii. 11, vii. 39, xi. 41, etc.; these are minor points, but the very fact that Luke is silent about St. John may almost be an indication of the presence of his hand, as is the case in the *Fourth Gospel.*

G. The Date of Acts.

St. Luke breaks off his second volume in singularly abrupt fashion; Paul has a formal disputation with the Roman Jews who remain unconvinced, xxviii. 17-29; this is "after the third" day of his imprisonment; the remainder

of this imprisonment is summed up in the terse note: *And he remained two whole years in his own hired lodging, and he received all that came in to him, preaching . . . without prohibition*, xxviii. 30-31. Luke was with him, Col. iv. 14, and the most natural view would be that the Evangelist occupied this period of waiting in putting together the *Gospel* and the *Acts;* the material for the "former volume" he would have accumulated during the Apostle's two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea; the material for the second volume would have been gathered during the course of St. Paul's journeys and put into final shape during this imprisonment at Rome. The concluding words would of course have been appended when publishing the volume.

But the disappointed reader at once asks as he lays down the volume: Why did he tell us nothing about the *Epistles* St. Paul wrote during his imprisonment? Why nothing about Nero's persecution? Why nothing about the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul? Why nothing about the line of defence the Apostle adopted at his trial? The simple answer would be that in the case of the latter questions the events mentioned had not yet happened and that consequently St. Luke was unable to mention them.

But the suggestion has been thrown out in recent years that Luke really intended to write a third volume. This, it is maintained, would explain the abrupt conclusion of *Acts*, and would also destroy the argument based upon the conclusion, *viz.* that *Acts* was composed during St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. That he did intend to write a third volume is deduced from the opening words of *Acts*, Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον, "the former treatise." It is argued that, had he only meant to write the two volumes we now have, Luke should have written πρότερον and not πρῶτον; for the latter means the first of a series, not of two, much as we should—if we were purists—say "the former and the latter" if there were only two, but "the first and second" if there were more to follow. Now it is true that Luke, especially in his *Prologue*, writes elegant Greek, but it is demanding a good deal to insist on his observance of such minutiæ as this. As a matter of fact, the use of πρῶτος instead of πρότερος occurs not only in what may well have been a proverbial expression, τὰ ἔσχατα χείρονα τῶν πρώτων, Luke xi. 26, Matt. xii. 45, 2 Pet. ii. 20, but repeatedly in Heb. viii. 7, 13, ix. 1, 6, 8, 15, 18, x. 9, of the "former" tabernacle. A particularly clear example is 1 Cor. xiv. 30, "But if anything be revealed to another sitting, let the *first* (former) hold his peace"; *cp.* Apoc. ii. 5. It is noteworthy, too, that πρότερος only occurs once in N.T., Eph. iv. 22. It is difficult, then, to insist that Luke's use of πρῶτος here presupposes a contemplated τρίτος λόγος.

But the best refutation of this view lies in the true scope of *Acts*. This volume was not meant to be biographical. Even Peter and Paul only figure in it for the sake of what they did in accomplishing the work of spreading the Gospel, and we may contrast the summary dismissal of St. Paul's work in xxviii. 30-32 with the equally summary dismissal of St. Peter in xii. 17. Bearing this in mind we may well ask: What could have been the theme of this supposed "third volume"? If Luke contemplated giving a further account of St. Paul's life his third volume would have been out of keeping with the two previous ones. If at a later period, *viz.* after the death of St. Paul, he had thought of compiling a third volume, he would have had nothing to tell save the story of the different examinations of the Apostle, and, after his release, the story of his missionary work in the east. But he would thus have gone over old ground, for the spread of the Gospel was his theme and he had already told it in *Acts*.

There is no reason, then, for shirking the conclusion which the straightforward interpretation of the closing words seems to impose upon us: Luke wrote *Acts* during St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, he appended the final verses to indicate the length of that imprisonment. In our *Chronological Tables* we have assigned that first Roman imprisonment to A.D. 58-60, and we may safely regard that as the date of the composition of *Acts*.[1]

H. The Authenticity and Canonicity of Acts.

(*a*) **Tradition.**—Eusebius places *Acts* among the "acknowledged books";[2] he also gives the following account of the *Third Gospel* and of *Acts* as well as of their author:

"Luke, a member of an Antiochian family, and a physician by profession, lived long in close intimacy with Paul, while he also made good use of his connection with the other Apostles. Consequently, he

[1] Eusebius, *H.E.* II. xxii. 5-6, holds the extraordinary view that *Acts* was written at the same time as 2 *Timothy*, but this hardly calls for refutation. For a brief résumé of the views held at different times regarding the authorship and date of *Acts*, see McGiffert's *ed.* of Eusebius, *H.E.* III. iv. 7, *note* 14.

[2] *H.E* III. xxv. 1; *cp.* II. viii. 17, 18, 22; xxii.

was able to leave to us two divinely-inspired books, which afford proof of that divine art of healing souls which he acquired from these same Apostles. The former of these books is his *Gospel*. Of this Luke tells us that he diligently compiled it according as he had received it from those who were themselves from the beginning witnesses and ministers of the word; he adds that he has himself faithfully adhered to them. The second book is the *Acts of the Apostles*, and this he composed not from hearsay, but as being himself an eye-witness."[1]

Tertullian nowhere, as far as we are aware, names St. Luke as the author of *Acts*, but he takes it for granted; for him Luke is "sectator Pauli," Paul is "illuminator Lucæ":[2]

"Those who refuse to accept this Scripture (the *Acts of the Apostles*) can have no share in the Holy Spirit, since they are unable to recognize the Spirit sent to the disciples; neither can they defend the Church, since they no longer have the means of proving when the body of the Church was founded nor where it was cradled."[3]

St. Irenæus constantly quotes *Acts*:[4] Luke is its author;[5] Luke is "sectator Pauli,"[6] "inseparabilis a Paulo," and "cooperarius ejus in Evangelio."[7] The *Muratorian Fragment* says explicitly:

"Acta autem omnium Apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt, Lucas obtine Theophile comprendit quia sub præsentia ejus singula gerebantur sicute et semote passione Petri evidenter declarat sed profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis."[8]

We may not agree with the view here expressed that the "Acts" of *all* the Apostles are given, but we note that

[1] *H.E.* III. iv. 7, *P.G.* XX. 219. Eusebius also tells us that Papias quoted from *Acts*, *H.E.* III. xxxix. 9-10.

[2] *Adv. Marcion.* IV. 2, *P.L.* II. 364.

[3] *De Præscr. Hæret.* XXII., *P.L.* II. 34-35.

[4] *Adv. Hær.* III. xiv. 1, xii. 10-11, *P.G.* VII. 905, 915.

[5] *Ibid.* III. xiv. 3. [6] *Ibid.* III. i. 1, and xiv. 1.

[7] *Adv. Hær.* III. i. 1, and xiv. 1.

[8] Westcott, *Canon N.T.*, 3rd ed., explains these corrupt closing words of this passage as meaning that Luke omitted the Passion of Peter as well as St. Paul's journey to Spain, p. 499 note. That the Manicheans rejected *Acts* on the ground that the book was not written by Apostles is stated by St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xxxii. 16, *P.L.* XLII. 505, *cp.* xix. 31, and *De Utilitate Credendi*, vii., *P.L.* XLII. 69-70, and *De Sermone Domini*, I. 65, *P.L.* XXXIV. 1262. Augustine asserts its canonicity repeatedly, and at the same time points out that it was read every year in the Church after Easter (see *Tract.* vi. 18 *in Joan.*, *P.L.* XXXV. 1433, and *Sermon* ccxv. 1, *P.L.* XXXVIII. 1426). Eusebius tells us, *H.E.* IV. xxix, that the Severians also rejected *Acts*.

Luke is termed "an eye-witness" of what he recounts. Traces of *Acts* are discoverable in the Apostolic Fathers, thus *cp.* xx. 35, μακάριόν ἐστῖν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν, with Clement *I. ad Corinthios* ii., ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες, and with this *cp. Barn.* xix., *Didache* iv., and Acts iv. 32; *cp.*, too, x. 41 with St. Ignatius, *Smyrn.* iii., and especially ii. 24 with St. Polycarp, *Phil.* i.

(*b*) Internal Evidence.—This traditional view of the authorship of *Acts* is fully borne out by an examination of the language and style, which accords both with the Gospel of St. Luke and with what we should expect of one who was the "sectator Pauli."

Thus note the following Greek words or expressions: ἐξαποστέλλω· ἐπερχόμαι, αἵρεσις, ἀναίρεσις, ἀναιρέω; they only occur in St. Luke's *Gospel*, in *Acts*, and in St. Paul's *Epistles*. On the other hand, we have, for example, διοδεύω, διανοιγέω, in the sense of "making plain," καθίζω, "to tarry," δυνατός ἐν, ἐπιφωνέω, which only occur in *Acts* and in St. Luke's *Gospel*. The medical language of the *Third Gospel* and *Acts* has been investigated, especially by Hobart.[1] It would take us beyond our limits to enter into details here, but we seem to see the physician's interest in Luke iv. 38, 40, viii. 43, xxii. 44; Acts iii. 7, xii. 23, xiii. 11, xviii. 3-9, etc.

J. Declarations of the Biblical Commission concerning the Acts of the Apostles.

Of the Author, Date of Composition of, and Historical Truth of, the Book of the Acts of the Apostles.

To the following queries the Pontifical Biblical Commission has thought fit to answer as follows:

I. Considering especially the tradition of the Universal Church—a tradition which can be traced up to the earliest ecclesiastical writers—considering, too, the internal characteristics of the *Book of the Acts*, whether in itself or in its relation to the *Third Gospel*, especially the mutual affinity and interconnection of the *Prologues* to each book (Luke i. 1-4; Acts i. 1-2), is it to be considered certain that the volume which bears for its title "Acts of Apostles," or Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων, has St. Luke for its author?

Reply: In the affirmative.

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[1] *The Medical Language of St. Luke: A Proof from Internal Evidence that "The Gospel according to St. Luke" and "The Acts of the Apostles" were Written by the Same Person and that the Writer was a Medical Man*, by the Rev. W. K. Hobart, LL.D., Dublin, 1882.

II. Can it be shown by critical arguments derived from the language and style, from the character of the narrative, from its unity of scope and teaching, that the *Book of the Acts of the Apostles* must be attributed to one single author? And can it in the same way be shown that the opinion of recent writers to the effect that Luke was not the sole author of the book, but that divers authors must be recognized in it, is destitute of any foundation?

Reply: In the affirmative to both points.

III. In particular, do certain well-known passages in *Acts*, where the use of the third person suddenly ceases and the first person is introduced ("we sections"), destroy the unity and authenticity of the composition? On the contrary, can these passages be said to confirm it when submitted to historical and philological examination?

Reply: In the negative to the first point; in the affirmative to the second.

IV. From the fact that the book itself closes abruptly the moment St. Paul's first Roman captivity of two years' duration has been mentioned, can it be concluded that the author wrote another volume which has been lost, or at least that he intended to write another, and that consequently the date of the composition of the book must be assigned to a period long subsequent to that same captivity? Can it, on the other hand, be rightly and deservedly held that Luke completed his book towards the close of St. Paul's first captivity at Rome?

Reply: In the negative to the first point; in the affirmative to the second point.

V. If we take into consideration the frequent and easy intercourse which without doubt subsisted between St. Luke and the chief founders of the Palestinian Churches, between St. Luke, too, and St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, whose companion Luke was in his journeys and in his preaching; if we consider, too, Luke's wonted industry and diligence in seeking out witnesses and observing things with his own eyes; if, finally and chiefly, we consider the remarkably clear agreement of the *Acts* with St. Paul's *Epistles* and with trustworthy historical records, should we not hold that Luke had at his disposal sources of information worthy of all credit, and that he himself made an accurate, proper, and faithful use of them, and this to such a degree that he can lay claim to full authority as an historian?

Reply: In the affirmative.

VI. Can the difficulties which are commonly urged, whether from the supernatural character of the facts narrated by St. Luke, or from the way in which certain discourses, because set down in brief fashion, are therefore thought to be fictitious and adapted to the circumstances, or from certain passages which are apparently in contradiction with profane or even Biblical history, and lastly from certain narratives which appear not to be in harmony either with the author of *Acts* or with other sacred authors—can these difficulties be considered such as would validly call in question the historical authority of *Acts* or at least seem to lessen it?

Reply: In the negative.

K. Some of the more interesting Variant Readings in Acts, especially those of Codex Bezæ.

(*a*) In viii. 37 the *Textus Receptus* and some MSS. of the Vulgate read: *Dixit autem Philippus: Si credis ex toto corde, licet. Et respondens ait: Credo Filium Dei esse Jesum Christum.* Four of the principal Vulgate MSS. omit these words, *viz. Amiatinus*, though the corrector of this MS. has inserted them, *Cavensis*, *Fuldensis*, and *Sangermanensis*. They are retained in the Sixtine and Clementine Vulgates, and consequently appear in the Rheims version. The best Greek MSS. omit them.

(*b*) In ix. 5-6 the *Textus Receptus* and several Vulgate MSS. add after *persequeris: durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare. Et tremens ac stupens dixit: Domine, quid me vis facere? Et dominus ad eum.* But these words are presumably taken over by mistake from xxii. 10 and xxvi. 14; the best Greek MSS. omit them.

(*c*) In xiii. 20 we have a variant which, though slight in itself, has important consequences. All the best Vulgate MSS. read: *Quasi post quadringentos et quinquaginta annos; et post hæc dedit judices.* According to this reading, the period of 450 years would refer to the entire period between God's promise to Abraham and the division of the land, *i.e.* according to Ussher's computations, to 1900-1450 B.C. The *Textus Receptus*, however, and many good Greek MSS., read: *Distribuit eis terram eorum. Et post hæc, quasi post quadringentos et quinquaginta annos, dedit judices*, thus referring the number of years, 450, to the period of the Judges, or 1450-1000 B.C.

(*d*) xv. 34. The text here presents some curious phenomena. The *Textus Receptus* has: *But it seemed good to Silas to remain there*, but these words are omitted by all the best Greek MSS. Some good Vulgate MSS. retain them, however, and add: *And Judas alone departed to Jerusalem*, though these words are only to be found in the Vulgate MS. *Armachanus* or the *Book of Armagh*, which, indeed, omits *to Jerusalem*, so that the sole authority, Latin or Greek, for *to Jerusalem* is to be found in the printed Sixtine and Clementine Vulgate. Hence they find no place in the original Rheims version, to which they have been added in subsequent editions in accordance with the Clementine Vulgate.

(*e*) xviii. 4. The words: *Bringing in the name of the Lord Jesus* have apparently no support from the Greek MSS.; indeed, four of the best MSS. of the Vulgate omit the entire verse.

(*f*) xxviii. 29. This whole verse is omitted in the best Greek MSS. and in four of the best Vulgate MSS.

The most interesting variants in the text of *Acts* are, however, furnished by the Græco-Latin *Codex Bezæ*.[1] This text has a series of additions and, to a lesser degree, of omissions which have led to the most divergent views on the part of critics. Blass, for instance, regards the Bezan

[1] See Vol. I, p. 142 *ff*.

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text as St. Luke's rough draft of *Acts*;[1] Ramsay prefers to see in its changes merely proof of a second-century editor who had failed to understand some of St. Luke's remarks, though at the same time Ramsay would allow that in places the Bezan text has preserved for us—more by accident than of set purpose—original and genuine matter which no longer finds a place in the ordinary MSS.[2]

The Greek text lacks viii. 29-x. 14*b*; xxi. 3-10, 16-18; xxii. 11-20; xxii. 29 to the end of the book. The Latin text has preserved some portions of these, but is defective in others, The importance of this Codex cannot be over-estimated, but its place in textual criticism has not yet been definitely settled. Its affinities with the Harclean Syriac, with the Old Syriac versions, and with the text as known to Tatian, St. Justin, and St. Irenæus, are acknowledged, though the implications have not yet been worked out. For some account of a Greek papyrus of the third century containing a portion of Acts xxvi. in a text approaching that of Bezæ see the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, January, 1918, p. 18; also *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. XIII.

As the general reader may not find it easy to discover these variant readings for himself, and as they are of very real importance, we may give some of the more salient ones. It should be noted, however, that the importance of these variants is not to be judged of by their quantity—*i.e.* by the lengthiness of any addition or omission—so much as by the different complexion which even a tiny change of person may put upon a passage.

i. 4. "Living with them," instead of "eating together with them."
i. 9. "While they looked on" is omitted.
i. 14. "With the women," Bezæ adds "and children."
i. 26. Matthias is said to be added to "the *twelve* Apostles"; this, however, is probably a mere slip, though it appears in both Latin and Greek text; *cp.* ii. 14, where Peter is said to stand up "with the *ten*" instead of with the "eleven."
ii. 37. Only "some of them" that heard St. Peter are represented as saying "What shall we do?"
iii. 1. "At the ninth hour . . . in the evening" is added.

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[1] *Acta Apostolorum*, Gottingen, 1895; also *Acta Apostolorum secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam*, Leipsic, 1896.

[2] See his *St. Paul the Roman Traveller*, *passim*, also *The Church in the Roman Empire*.

iii. 3-5. In each case it is the lame man who is said "to gaze," not Peter.

iii. 11. This will serve as a good example of the way in which some passages are cast in quite different fashion in this text: "But as Peter and John came out, he came with them, clinging to them. But they [presumably the onlookers] stood stupefied in the porch that is called Solomon's."

iv. 32. The harmonious lives of the early Christians are depicted in even stronger terms than in the ordinary text: "And there was no disputing amongst them at all." *Cp.* ii. 46.

v. 15. The effects of Peter's passing shadow are actually given: "And every one of them was freed from any sickness any of them had."

v. 18. Add, "And every one of them went into his own house."

v. 38. Gamaliel adjures the Sanhedrin "not to defile their hands" with these men.

vii. 24. Moses is said to have hidden the dead Egyptian in the sand. *Cf.* Exod. ii. 12.

viii. 1. The words "save the Apostles" seem to hang in the air, so this text adds: "Who remained in Jerusalem"; we have similar additions in v. 15, 18, xv. 34: "Judas, however, alone remained." *Cp.* xviii. 8, *infra.*

xi. 2. Instead of "When Peter was come to Jerusalem they that were of the circumcision," etc., this MS. has "Peter indeed had for a long time wished to go to Jerusalem; and having summoned the brethren and strengthened them with many words, he made (his journey) through the districts teaching them, for he went out to meet them and declared to them the grace of God."

xi. 25. Barnabas is said to "have heard that Saul was at Tarsus," and therefore to have sought him out.

xi. 27. After telling of the prophets who came from Jerusalem to Antioch the MS. adds: "And there was much joy. But on our return." This is of peculiar interest, since this "we section" anticipates those which in the ordinary text only begin in chap. xvi.

xiii. 8. The fears of Elymas are explained by the addition that the Proconsul "heard him (Paul) gladly."

xiii. 28-29. "When they had judged Him they delivered Him to Pilate . . ., and they asked Pilate to crucify Him, and having again had their way . . ."

xiii. 33. An additional verse of Ps. ii. is quoted.

xiii. 44. The spread of the Gospel is further indicated: "But it came to pass that the word of the Lord spread through the entire city. . . . Paul spoke much about the Lord."

xiv. 2. At Iconium: "But the rulers of the synagogues of the Jews and the rulers of the synagogues (*sic*) stirred them up to persecution against the righteous."

xiv. 4. "But some with the Apostles," add "clinging (to them) by reason of the word of God."

xiv. 7. "And the entire multitude was stirred at the teaching. But Paul and Barnabas spent some time in Lystra."

xiv. 13. The title of "the god-before-the-city" comes out more

plainly in this text than—as the words are arranged—in the ordinary text; *cf.* Ramsay, *Church and the Roman Empire*, p. 52.

xiv. 9. The lame man at Lystra is said to have listened to St. Paul, "being in fear," a touch which seems natural.

xiv. 19. It is added that Paul and Barnabas "stayed and taught at Lystra."

xv. 2. Apropos of the dispute at Antioch on the necessity of circumcision, *Codex Bezæ* explains the dissension by adding: "For Paul said with affirmation that they ought to remain so as they had believed; but they that had come from Jerusalem bade Paul and Barnabas and certain others . . ."

xv. 20. Omit "things strangled"; *cp.* xxi. 25.

xv. 41. Where the Vulgate reads: "Præcipiens custodire præcepta Apostolorum et seniorum," this MS. has: "Delivering the command of the seniors." The next verse adds:

xvi. 1. "And having passed through these nations," which does not seem to fit into the context.

xvi. 9-10. The vision of the "man of Macedonia" is almost completely recast: "When, then, he awaked, he recounted the dream to us, and we knew that the Lord had summoned us to preach the Gospel to them in Macedonia. And on the following morning . . ."

xvi. 12. Philippi is expressly stated to be "the chief" (city) of Macedonia.

xvi. 30. It is rather naïvely narrated of the gaoler at Philippi that, "having safely put away the rest (of the prisoners), he said to them (Paul and Silas) . . ."

xvi. 35. We are told of the magistrates at Philippi that, having come "together into the market-place, and remembering the earthquake that had taken place (in the night) . . .," they ordered the gaolers to release the men "whom you took yesterday." And further:

xvi. 38. They were afraid on learning that they were Romans, and therefore "came with many friends to the prison and begged them to depart, saying: We know nothing against you, for you are upright men." They told them, therefore, to go, "lest perchance they should come to us again, and clamour against you."

xvii. 15. It is said of St. Paul: "But he passed through Thessaly, for he was hindered from preaching the word to them."

xvii. 34. Dionysius is termed "an honourable" man, which the Latin somewhat amusingly renders "complacens." Damaris is omitted altogether.

xviii. 2. Aquila and Priscilla are said to "have also dwelt in Achaia" after the edict of Claudius.

xviii. 3. The words: "For they were tentmakers by trade" are omitted.

xviii. 6. At Corinth it is added: "And there was much talking and discussion about the Scriptures."

xviii. 7. Titus Justus is simply called "Justus."

xix. 1. The text is completely recast: "And since Paul desired according to his own plan to go to Jerusalem, the Spirit told him to return into Asia."

xix. 9. Paul is said to have disputed in the school of Tyrannus "from the fifth hour to the tenth."

xix. 14. The number of the sons of Sceva, seven, is not given.

xix. 28. The rioters at Ephesus are said to have "run out into the crossways." Further, they shouted out, not "Great *is* Diana of the Ephesians!" but "Great Diana of the Ephesians!" The same occurs in verse 34.

xx. 4. Eutychus (? for Tychicus) and Trophimus are termed "Ephesians."

xx. 5. In the Vulgate and in the ordinary text here opens a "we section"; but in this MS. the Greek has: "These, going before, stayed for *him* at Troas." The Latin, however, has "nos"; the Greek takes up the first person in the next verse.

xxi. 1. A new stopping-place, Myra, is added after Patara.

xxi. 25. St. James's words are amplified; it is noticeable that in repeating the decree of the Council he omits the reference to "things strangled," as in xv. 20.

L. The Theology of Acts.

God and the Father: He is the Father, i. 7; the Creator, xiv. 14; spoke by the Prophets, ii. 17, iii. 25, iv. 25; His foreknowledge, ii. 23; worked through Christ, ii. 22; we ought not to fight against Him, iv. 19, v. 39; His promises to Israel, i. 4, ii. 33-39, iii. 25, vii. 5-7, 17, xiii. 32, xxvi. 6; His decree, iv. 28; His action in the Old Testament history, vii. 1-53.

Christology: Christ was foretold by the Prophets, ii. 25-26, xxvi. 22-23, xxviii. 23; a résumé of His life, teaching, Passion, and Resurrection, x. 36-43, xiii. 23-41, xvii. 2-3, xxvi. 23, xxviii. 31; God worked by Him, ii. 22; He was the Messias or "Christ," ix. 22, xviii. 28; His preaching, x. 36 38; He is the Redeemer, xx. 28; His Passion was foretold, iii. 18; His human nature, ii. 22; the Son of God, iii. 26, iv. 27, 30, viii. 37, ix. 20; Son of Man, vii. 55; His Resurrection, i. 22; was the work of the Father, ii. 24, 32-33, iii. 13, 15, 26, iv. 10, 12, v. 20, xiii. 30-37; was foretold, ii. 25-36, iii. 16, 21-25, vii. 52, xxvi. 8, 22-23; was preached by the Apostles, iv. 2, 33, xiii. 30-37, xvii. 18, 31, xxiii. 6; His Ascension, i. 9-10, ii. 34; He is called "the Lord," i. 21, ii. 36, vii. 58-59, ix. 5-17, 34, x. 36, 48, xx, 25; "Jesus of Nazareth," ii. 22; "the Prince and Saviour," v. 31; "the Saviour," xiii. 23; "the Holy One and the Just," iii. 14; "the Author of life," iii. 15; the "Stone," iv. 11; is preached by the Apostles, iv. 2, 33, v. 42, viii. 5, 35, ix. 20, 22, xi. 20-21, xxviii. 31; is prayed to, i. 24, xiv. 22; His name is invoked, ii. 38, iii. 6, 16, iv. 10, 18, 30, v. 28, 40-41, viii. 1, ix. 28, x. 48, xv. 26, xvi. 18, xviii. 4, xix. 13, 17, xxi. 13, xxvi. 9; Stephen "falls asleep in Him," vii. 59; He testifies to Paul's preaching, xiv. 3; He appears to Saul, ix. 3-20, xviii. 9-10, xx. 24, xxii. 6-16, 17-21, xxvi. 12-18; we are saved by His grace, xv. 11; faith in Him, xvi. 31, xx. 21, xxiv. 24; He will come again, i. 11, iii. 20-21; to judge the world, x. 42, xvii. 31; the preaching of Christ's doctrine by the Apostles is known as "the word of God" or "of the Lord," or "the way of life" or "of salvation," vi. 2, 6, viii. 25, xi. 1, xii. 24, xiii. 2, 5, 7, 26, 44, 48, 49, xiv. 24, xv. 35-36, xvi. 7, 32, xvii. 13, xviii. 25-26; xix. 9, 10, 20, 23; the remission of sins is through Him, ii. 38, v. 31, x. 43, xiii. 38, xxvi. 18.

The Holy Spirit is God, v. 4; Christ's commands are given through Him, i. 2; men can tempt Him, v. 9; lie to Him, v. 3; resist Him, vii. 51; the Apostles and disciples are to be "baptized" in Him, i. 5, 8, ii. 1-4, 17-21, 38; He inspired the Old Testament writers, i. 16, iv. 25, xxviii. 25-27; He fills the Apostles, iv. 8, 31, v. 32, ix. 17, 31; He acts through Philip, viii. 29, 39; through Peter, x. 19; Barnabas, xi. 24; Barnabas and Paul, xiii. 2, 4; the Church and the Apostles speak in His name, xv. 28; He forbids Paul and Barnabas to preach in Asia, xvi. 6; He is in the deacons, vi. 3, 5, 10, vii. 55; in Agabus, xxi. 11; He is poured out upon the new converts, viii. 15-20, x. 44-47, xi. 15-17, xiii. 52, xv. 8, xix. 26.

Other Points which should be noted are the teaching regarding *Penance*, ii. 18, v. 31, viii. 22, xi. 18, xiii. 24, xvii. 30, xix. 4, xx. 21, xxvi. 20; on *natural religion*, xvii. 23-30; on *divinely-revealed* religion, xvii. 30-31; the use of the title "Christians," xi. 26, xxvi. 28; on *our resurrection*, xxiv. 15; the use of the expression "Kingdom of God," i. 3, viii. 12, xiv. 21, xix. 8, xx. 5, xxviii. 31.

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For the Aramaic character of certain portions of Acts see Torrey, *J.T.S.*, July, 1919, also *Expositor*, April, 1920.

THE LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL

I

THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL

A. The Details furnished us in the New Testament.
B. His Imprisonments and Death at Rome.
C. The Question of his Journey to Spain; Traditional Details of his Life; his name "Paul."

II

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES

A. Their General Character and Chronological Order.
B. St. Paul's Style.
C. The Value of his Epistles.
D. How to read the Epistles.
E. The Authenticity and Canonicity of his Epistles.
F. Bibliography.

THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.

A. Details furnished by the New Testament.

It must be remembered that we have no biography of the Apostle of the Gentiles. St. Luke in his *Acts* makes no pretence of giving us one. He is simply concerned with the spread of the Church, and the career of the great Apostle is but an incident—though one that bulks largely—in that story. It is possible, however, to reconstruct from *Acts* and from various hints dropped in the *Epistles* a general scheme of St. Paul's life.

Saul was "born at Tarsus in Cilicia,"[1] but educated in

[1] Acts xxi. 39, xxii. 3.

Jerusalem "at the feet of Gamaliel."[1] In some way he had acquired the rights of Roman citizenship; it may have been by inheritance.[2] He is first introduced to us in the New Testament story as a persecutor of the Church at the time of Stephen's martyrdom.[3] His conversion would seem to have followed speedily on this episode, and he makes very frequent reference to it.[4] After his conversion he seems to have stayed for a time in Damascus,[5] whence he went to Arabia, and thence to Damascus again.[6] This occupied the first three years after his conversion,[7] and after his historical visit to Jerusalem "to interrogate Peter"[8] he passed to his native Province of Cilicia.[9] These were the years of preparation for his great ministry. From Tarsus he was fetched by Barnabas, who introduced him to the Church at Antioch.[10] A year later Saul and Barnabas were entrusted by the Antiochian Church with the administration of the alms there collected for the poor at Jerusalem during the famine.[11] They returned from Jerusalem accompanied by John Mark.

These were the formative years for St. Paul. Damascus, Arabia, Damascus again, Jerusalem perhaps twice, Tarsus, Antioch, Jerusalem once more, and now Antioch a second time, all had claimed him, and he had won his experience of the faith. He was ripe for those missionary journeys which are so fully described by St. Luke. The divine call came to him at Antioch, and his first voyage embraced Cyprus and the centre of Asia Minor.[12] A fairly lengthy period at Antioch[13] preceded the Council at Jerusalem which was to determine the true relation of Judaism to the Christian faith.[14] Hardly was the Council over than he and Barnabas once more set out on a visit to the scenes of their previous labours. A dissension between them led to a division of

[1] Acts xxii. 3, Gal. i. 14, Phil. iii. 5. [2] Acts xvi. 37-38, xxvi. 26-28.
[3] *Ibid.* vii. 57, xxii. 4-5, 20, xxvi. 9-13, Phil. iii. 6, 1 Tim. i. 13.
[4] Acts ix. 1-30, xxii. 6-16, xxvi. 12-19, Gal. i. 13, 15, 1 Tim. i. 16.
[5] Acts ix. 19-25, 2 Cor. xi. 32-33.
[6] Gal. i. 17. [7] *Ibid.* i. 18.
[8] *Ibid.* For the discussion as to these latter movements see *Introduction* to the *Epistle to the Galatians.*
[9] *Ibid.* i. 21. [10] Acts xi. 27-30.
[11] *Ibid.* xi. 30, xii. 25. [12] *Ibid.* xiii. 4, xiv. 27.
[13] *Ibid* xiv. 27. [14] *Ibid.* xv. 1-29.

the party; Barnabas and Mark went to Cyprus, while Paul and Silas went to Cilicia, and thence to the Churches already founded at Derbe, Lystra, etc. Here the Apostle found the man who was to be his lifetime companion, Timothy. They went thence to the Eastern coast of Asia Minor, where a divine vision directed them to pass over into Europe; thus began the evangelization of the West.[1] His missionary journey embraced Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, and a short stay at Ephesus, whence he returned to Jerusalem, and so to Antioch.[2] After a short rest he set out again, apparently alone. This time he covered the now familiar ground of central Asia Minor for the third time, and finally came to Ephesus, where he taught for two years.[3] A riot drove him out, and he went to Achaia.[4] Thence he returned on his track, passed through Philippi to Troas, and so to Miletus, whither he summoned the Church of Ephesus to meet him. On leaving them he took boat for Cæsarea, went up to Jerusalem, and was arrested there by the Jews.[5]

B. His Imprisonment and Death.

But here the Roman authorities stepped in, and he was detained in prison at Cæsarea for two years.[6] His appeal to Cæsar led to his shipment to Rome, where he passed two more years in prison.[7] At this point St. Luke's narrative breaks off, but the so-called *Pastoral Epistles*, *viz.* those to Timothy and to Titus, show us that he was released from prison, and recommenced his missionary labours in the East.[8] After some years he was again arrested and conveyed to Rome. The last *Epistle* we have from his pen, the *Second Epistle to Timothy*, depicts him as expecting his final trial, and calmly awaiting death. That he did meet his death in Rome is vouched for by unassailable tradition, though the New Testament is silent. On this point it may be remarked at once that very few realize how overwhelming is the weight of tradition regarding St. Paul's martyrdom in Rome. Thus Lanciani says emphatically: "For the archæologist, the

[1] Acts xvi. 6-11. [2] *Ibid.* xviii. 23. [3] *Ibid.* xix. 10.
[4] *Ibid.* xx. 2. [5] *Ibid.* xxi. 27-30.
[6] *Ibid.* xxiv. 27. [7] *Ibid.* xxviii. 30.
[8] *H.E.* II. xxii. 2 with McGiffert's notes; see, too, *Introduction* to the *Pastoral Epistles*.

presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence."[1] And Edmundson, who quotes the above words, says: "The deaths by martyrdom of the Apostles Peter and Paul at Rome towards the close of Nero's reign are among the facts of first-century Christian history which may in these days be regarded as practically outside controversy."[2] The earliest witness we have is St. Clement of Rome, who writes to the Corinthians:

"Through a wicked jealousy (Clement is insisting on the evil effects of 'jealousy,' which has proved the ruin of the Corinthian Church) Peter endured not one nor two, but many trials, and having thus borne witness (*i.e.* suffered 'martyrdom') he passed to the place of glory which was his due. Through jealousy Paul too earned the reward of patience . . .; he became a herald of the Word in East and West, and so earned the glorious renown of his faith; he taught righteousness to the entire world; he came to the bounds of the West; and he bore witness (suffered martyrdom) at the hands of the Prefects."[3]

Clement does not *say* that these Apostles died in Rome; but his silence has to be interpreted in the light of unanimous tradition; if he did not mean that they died at Rome he would have had to explain away the witness of 2 *Timothy*, which implies it. Moreover, Clement was writing from Rome, and therefore seems to take for granted that everyone knew that these Apostles died there. St. Ignatius of Antioch again can mean nothing else when he writes to the Romans: "I do not, like Peter and Paul, make arrangements (διατάσσομαι) for you."[4] Clearly Ignatius knew that these Apostles were at least the "founders" of the Church at Rome, as St. Irenæus expresses it in the classical passage: "We set forth the tradition of the greatest and most ancient Church, of the one known to all men, which was founded and established at Rome by the two glorious Apostles Peter and Paul."[5] Similarly Tertullian: "Consult your own records, and you will find that Nero was the first to assail with the Cæsar's sword—and especially at Rome—this sect

[1] Quoted by Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, p. 47, the *Bampton Lectures* for 1913.

[2] *L.c.* p. 145. For the tradition that St. Paul had incurred Nero's wrath by converting his cupbearer, see St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* x. 2 on 2 *Tim.* iv. 13, *P.G.* LXII. 657.

[3] 1 *Cor.* v. [4] *Ad Rom.* iv. [5] *Adv. Hær.* III. iii. 2, *P.G.* VII. 848.

that had arisen."[1] That Tertullian refers here to the death of the Apostles seems clear from other words of his: "Run through the Apostolic Churches . . . if you are in Italy you have Rome whence, too, the voice of authority is at our call. How blessed is that Church! For together with their blood the Apostles poured out on it all their doctrine! There Peter was made like his Lord in his death, there Paul was crowned with the Baptist's death."[2] Eusebius' comment on the passage quoted above from Tertullian's *Apologia* is worth giving in full:

"Historians tell us (ἱστορῶνται), then, that Paul was deprived of his head in Rome itself, and that Peter, too, was crucified under him (Nero). And this history is confirmed by the fact that the names of Peter and Paul are attached to this day to the cemeteries there."

Eusebius proceeds to quote further confirmation derived from a statement of

"Gaius, a Catholic who lived at Rome during the episcopate of Zephyrinus, the Bishop of Rome: 'Now I can point out to you the monuments of the Apostles; for if you will but go out to the Vatican or along the Ostian way you will see the monuments of the men who founded this Church.'"

And Eusebius immediately adds a piece of information which is worthy of note:

"And that they both suffered martyrdom at the same time is stated by Denis, the Bishop of Corinth, in his homiletic address to the Romans; he says: 'You, too, by this your admonition have welded together the Churches planted by Peter and Paul, *viz.* the Roman and Corinthian Churches. For both of them came to our Corinth and planted us, and similarly both of them went to Italy, and when they had taught together there they suffered martyrdom at the same time.'"[3]

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[1] *Apologia* V., *P.L.* I. 229; *cp. Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 5, Lactantius, *Instituta*, IV. 15.

[2] *De Præscriptionibus* XXXVI, *P.L.* II. 49; *cp. Scorpiace*, XV.

[3] *H.E.* II. xxv, *P.G.* XX. 208-209; *cp.* IV. xxiii. I cannot understand how Edmundson, *l.c.* 146 and 149, can say, despite Eusebius' comment, that "Dionysius of Corinth merely states that both Apostles suffered *about* the same time." It is true, of course, that the fact that a solemn translation of the bodies of the two Apostles took place on June 29, A.D. 258, served to bring home to men's mind the fact that they actually died on the same day (see below), but Dionysius states this as a positive fact as early as A.D. 170, and his testimony cannot be disregarded. Neither is it fair, in view of the above, to say that the Liberian Catalogue of A.D. 354 "is the first document in which the death of the Apostles on the same day is mentioned," *l.c.* p. 149. It is true that Prudentius, the hymn-writer of the opening of the fourth

The two Apostles, then, presumably suffered on the same day. St. Jerome positively states that this was in the fourteenth year of Nero, *viz.* in A.D. 67. Of late years it has been the custom to throw doubt on this, and maintain that the year 64 is the more probable. But the sole reason for this seems to be that since the fire which destroyed Rome took place in that year, and since the Christians were accused of having caused this fire, and were therefore persecuted, it seems absurd to suppose that the death of the two Apostles was as far removed from the date of the fire as the year 67. Hence it is often asserted that the date of their death must be A.D. 64, despite the positive assertions of St. Jerome and Eusebius. The value of such a line of argument is nil, and, as Mr. Edmundson has—amongst others—recently shown,[1] it is in flagrant contradiction with those very statements of Tacitus which were supposed to support it. The fire was indeed the cause of a persecution which gradually developed in intensity, and which covered the last years of Nero's reign; but there is absolutely no ground for supposing that this persecution came to a climax before A.D. 67, in which year a practically unanimous tradition places the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul.

C. Further Details of the Apostle's Life.

St. Clement, in the passage quoted above, says that St. Paul "became a herald of the word in East and West . . . he taught righteousness to the entire world, he came to

century, places the death of St. Peter a year previous to that of St. Paul, *l.c.* 150; but it is quite incorrect to say that "St. Augustine [*Sermons*, 296-297] held a similar opinion," *l.c.* 150, note 1. St. Augustine maintains in positive terms that they died on the same day: "Non Petrus solus, sed etiam alii Apostoli audierunt, servaverunt, maximeque ipse consors sanguinis et *diei* Apostolus Paulus," *Sermo* CCXCVI. 4, *P.L.* XXXVIII. 1354; it is true that some MSS. have *Dei* instead of *diei*. But in *Sermo* CCXVII. 4 he says: "Diem hodiernum ambo consecraverunt." St. Jerome is equally explicit: he refers St. Peter's death to the fourteenth year of Nero, *Vir. Illustr.* I., and St. Paul's death to the same year, and he adds, "eodem *die* quo Petrus," *ib.* V.; finally he says of Seneca that he was put to death "two years before Peter and Paul were martyred," *ib.* XII. Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Sermo de SS. Petro and Paulo*, *P.G.* LIX. 494, says they died on June 29, but does not give any year. For an account of St. Paul's tomb, see St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* IV. 4 on 2 Tim. ii, *P.G.* LXII. 623-624.

[1] *L.c.*, pp. 125-144.

the bounds of the West, and he suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Prefects."[1] It is generally supposed that Clement thus signifies his belief that St. Paul actually went to Spain, as he proposed to do when writing to the Romans.[2] But it should be noted that Clement's combination of the two statements, *viz.* that St. Paul "came to the bounds of the West," and that "he suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Prefects," seems to imply that he understood by "the bounds of the West" no more than Italy. The earliest positive statement to the effect that St. Paul actually went to Spain occurs in the *Muratorian Fragment*[3] "profectionem Pauli ab Urbe ad Spaniam profisciscentis." As a matter of fact, St. Paul only says that he planned a visit to Spain, just as he planned a visit to Rome, but his visit to Rome proved to be of a very different kind from what he had contemplated. It certainly seems impossible to fit in a visit to Spain before his first imprisonment at Rome, and there is no proof that he paid such a visit after his imprisonment there. The Fathers speak very guardedly. Thus Origen, while saying that "he established Churches throughout the breadth of the entire world,"[4] yet in his commentary on Rom. xv. speaks very clearly indeed about the whole being merely a project; he even says that when the Apostle states that he is only going to "pass by" the Roman Church he merely means that it depends upon them whether he stays long or not and, apparently, that the proposed visit to Spain would also depend on the kind of reception the Romans gave him.[5] St. Jerome in one place[6] seems, it is true, to take for granted that the Apostle went to Spain, but elsewhere he remarks that the Apostle "saw that he had preached the Gospel from Jerusalem to Illyricum, that he had gone to Rome and to Spain—that is, had either gone or was planning to go";[7] so, too, St. Chrysostom points out that the Apostle's words only indicate his eagerness to go to Spain;[8] while,

[1] 1 *Cor.* v.
[2] Rom. xv. 23-24.
[3] See vol. ii., p. 89.
[4] *Hom.* XIII. 3 *in Genesim*, *P.G.* XII. 233.
[5] *Lib.* X. 13 *in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 1271-1272.
[6] On Amos v. 8, *P.L.* XXV. 1043.
[7] On Eph. iii. 13, *P.L.* XXVI. 485.
[8] *Hom.* XXX. *in Rom.* xv., *P.G.* LX. 662; and note how in his various descriptions of St. Paul's journeys St. Chrysostom, while

lastly, St. Thomas remarks that it is not certain whether he actually went.[1]

In addition to these broad outlines the *Acts* and the *Epistles*, as well as tradition, furnish us, as we have seen, with certain personal details regarding St. Paul. Thus we read of his "sister's son,"[2] but beyond this we are told nothing touching his parentage; St. Jerome, however, has preserved the tradition that his parents came from Giscala.[3] That he was originally known by the name of Saul is clear from the narrative in *Acts*, where he is always spoken of as "Saul" previous to Acts xiii. 9, where, however, St. Luke uses the expression "Saul, otherwise Paul." Many explanations of this double name have been given. St. Chrysostom preached on the question "for three whole days,"[4] and, arguing from the analogy of such double names as Abram and Abraham, Simon and Peter, etc., concludes that the name "Paul" was divinely bestowed upon Saul shortly after his conversion.[5] Origen and St. Jerome both draw attention to the fact that St. Luke's use of the name "Paul" coincides in point of time with the conversion of Sergius Paulus,[6] and they conclude that just as Scipio took the title of "Africanus" from his wars in Africa and the honours he won there, so Saul took the name of "Paul" in memory of his first and most illustrious convert.[7] The view more in repute at present, and apparently the more probable one, is that from infancy the future Apostle had two names: in Jewish circles he was "Saul," in Gentile circles he was "Paul."[8] As for St. Paul's personal appear-

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mentioning all sorts of countries, never includes Spain, *De Capto Eutropio*, 14, and *De Laudibus S. Pauli*, *Hom.* IV., *P.G.* LII. 409 and L. 491; *cf. Hom.* IX. 2 on 2 Tim. iv. and *Hom.* X. 3, *P.G.* LXII. 653 and 659.

[1] *Lectio* III. in Rom. xv.

[2] Acts xxiii. 16-22.

[3] *Comment. in Ep. ad Philemonem*, 24, *P.L.* XXVI. 617.

[4] *De Mutatione Nominum*, iv. 3, *P.G.* LI. 148.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 6, ii. 1-3, iii. 3-4, cols. 123, 127, 137; *cp. Hom.* I. 1 *in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* LX. 395.

[6] Acts. xiii. 9.

[7] *Proem. in Comment. in Ep. ad Philemonem*, *P.L.* XXVI. 603-604; Origen, *Præf. in Comment. in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 836.

[8] *Cf.* Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 10th *ed.*, 1908, pp. 81 *ff.* This view has been hailed as something quite new, yet it is as old as Origen, who says that while he does not wholly repudiate the notion that the

ance, he himself tells us that his enemies taunted him, saying *his bodily presence is weak and his speech contemptible.*[1] And the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* describe him as "small of stature and baldheaded."[2] That he was never married seems clear from 1 Cor. vii. 7, ix. 5. St. Chrysostom repudiates, apparently with horror, the notion that St. Paul

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name "Paul" was adopted after the conversion of Sergius Paulus, yet he is doubtful about an explanation which is without parallel in Scripture. He notes, however, that it was the custom of Hebrews to have two if not three names apiece, and he gives instances from both Old and New Testament: "Since then," he says, "it is certain that the Evangelists could not have erred in giving the names of the Apostles, and since the custom of having two or three names apiece undoubtedly prevailed among the Jews, we must suppose that different Evangelists used different names for one and the same man [he is talking particularly of the names Lebbæus, Thaddeus, and Jude of James as names of one Apostle]. In accordance, then, with this custom it seems to us that Paul too used two names, so that when he was ministering to his own nation he was known as Saul—for this name seems more in harmony with his native Hebrew tongue—but when he wrote laws and precepts for the Greeks or Gentiles then he was known by the name of Paul. And clearly the statement, 'Saul, who is also Paul,' can only mean that this name of Paul was not then given him for the first time, but had long been his name," *Præf. in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 834. This is but one of the many cases where Origen's critical faculty has led him to anticipate conclusions which are thought to be quite modern. The same remark applies to St. Thomas Aquinas, who, *Lectio* I. *in Ep. ad Romanos*, i., says that there are three opinions, one that of St. Jerome, *viz.* that Saul took the name of Paul out of respect for his great convert, another that "Paul" means "little," and refers to his gradual growth in virtue. "Others, however, say—and better—that Paul had from the beginning two names; for it was the custom among the Jews for them to take, along with their Hebrew names, names belonging to the nations whose servants they were, so that when in the service of Greeks they took Greek names, as appears in the case of Jason and Menelaus, 2 Macc. iv." St. Thomas then remarks that the name "Paul" was a famous one with the Romans, and that "consequently whereas he was called Saul among the Hebrews, so he was called Paul among the Romans, though he does not seem to have used this name until after he began to preach to the Gentiles. . . . And this opinion is the one favoured by Augustine." We cannot find St. Thomas's authority for this last remark, for St. Augustine dwells only upon the second explanation, *De Spiritu et Littera*, VII. (12) and *Sermo* CCCXV. 5, *P.L.* XLIV. 207 and XXXVIII. 1429.

[1] 2 Cor. x. 10.

[2] Chap. iii. Μικρὸς τῷ μεγέθει, ψιλὸς τὴν κεφαλήν. For the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* see Tertullian *De Baptismo*, xvii., *P.L.* I. 1219, and *H.E.* III. xix.

was married when he rejects the opinion of those who said that the "germane compar" of Phil. iv. 3 might have been Paul's wife.[1] So too St. Jerome.[2] But Origen is less positive, for apropos of the same passage he remarks that "some say that St. Paul was called to the faith together with his wife";[3] this, however, seems to be due to an erroneous interpretation of the word "yoke-fellow," compar, *σύζυγε*. If Pseudo-Chrysostom gives a well-founded tradition,[4] the Apostle must have been born in the same year as Christ, since he tells us he was sixty-eight years old when he died, and his death fell in the year 67. There is no reason for supposing that the expression "Paul, an old man," in *Philemon* 9 is to be taken other than literally. One other fact is stated emphatically in *Acts*, *viz.* that Paul was a tentmaker by trade,[5] and the pathetic references to his toil-worn hands are frequent.[6] Further personal traits are hinted at, *e.g.* that he fixed a person with his gaze,[7] though too much insistence must not be laid on the word *ἀτενίζω*, as it is of fairly frequent occurrence. However "contemptible" Paul's speech may have been, according to his traducers,[8] there can be no question that he could be fiery in the extreme.[9] Hence St. Jerome's remark that "his words are thunders;"[10] indeed, Jerome seems to suggest that one might apply to him the strong expression applied by Æschines to Demosthenes.[11] We gather from many pas-

[1] *Hom.* XIII. 2 *in Ep. ad Philipp.*, *P.G.* LXII. 279; see, too, St. Ambrose, *Exhortatio Virginitatis*, iv. 22, *P.L.* XVI. 343.

[2] *Ep.* XXII. 20, *P.L.* XXII. 407.

[3] *Hom.* I. *in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 839.

[4] *Spurious Sermon on SS. Peter and Paul*, 2, where the author also says the Apostle was thirty-five at date of his conversion, *P.G.* LIX. 495; *cp. De Laudibus S. Pauli*, where St. Chrysostom says the Apostle took scarcely thirty years to evangelize the nations, *P.G.* L. 490.

[5] Acts xviii. 8, *cp.* St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* IV. on 2 Tim. ii., *P.G.* LXII. 522, where, too, St. Chrysostom draws a wonderful comparison between St. Paul and Nero.

[6] Acts xx. 34, 1 Cor. iv. 12, 2 Thess. iii. 8.

[7] Acts xiii. 9, xiv. 9.

[8] 2 Cor. x. 10.

[9] Acts xv. 38-39, xvi. 37, xvii. 16, xxi. 39, xxiii. 2, xxviii. 25-28.

[10] *Ep.* XLVIII. 13, *P.L.* XXII. 502; and note Tertullian's phrase, "Agnosce Paulum columnam immobilem disciplinarum," *De Pudic.* XVI., *P.L.* II. 1011.

[11] "Habet nescio quid latentis energiæ viva vox. . . . Unde et Æschynes, cum Rhodi exularet et legeretur illa Demosthenis Oratio,

sages how apt he was in retort, *e.g.* Acts xxvi. 29. Again, his speech was certainly fluent if "rude," for the Lycaonians called Paul "Mercury, because he was the chief speaker."[1] The orator's use of the outstretched hand is shown in such passages as Acts xiii. 16, xxi. 40.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

A. Their General Character and Chronological Order.

The *Epistles of St. Paul* may be described as the residue of a correspondence carried on during his apostolate of some thirty years. These Letters date from various places in which he laboured—Corinth, Ephesus, Rome, etc. They are addressed to seven different Churches, *viz.* those at Rome, Corinth, Thessalonica, Ephesus, Philippi, Colossæ, and the Churches of Galatia. Some of these Churches, *i.e.* those at Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, and the Churches in Galatia, were actually founded by him, others, *i.e.* the Roman and Colossian Churches, were not founded by him; indeed, the latter would seem to have numbered few members who were even personally known to him. The *Epistle to the Hebrews* stands in a class apart. Three *Epistles* are addressed to individual disciples, *viz.* those to Timothy and to Titus, while another is addressed to one who was apparently an entire stranger, Philemon. These Letters were strictly "occasional," that is, they were written because the occasion of sending off a letter presented itself, or because the Apostle had, as in the case of the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, been especially asked to write. We are wont to speak of them as simply *Epistles* or *Letters*, but as a matter of fact, while those to the Galatians, Philemon, Philippians, Thessalonians, and the Second to the Corinthians have a distinctly epistolary character, those to the Romans and the Hebrews especially —and in a less degree those to the Ephesians and Colossians —would be more precisely described as Treatises on a set subject. For *Romans* deals with Predestination and Justi-

quam adversus eum habuerat, mirantibus cunctis atque laudantibus, suspirans ait: Quid si ipsam audissetis bestiam sua verba resonantem!" *Ep.* LIII. 2, *P.L.* XXII. 541.

[1] Acts xiv. 11.

fication by faith, while *Ephesians* and *Colossians* treat of Christ and His Church, and *Hebrews* of the Priesthood of Christ. Others, again, such as the *Pastoral Epistles* and *First Corinthians*, partake of both characters.

The early Christian literature which has been preserved for us is fragmentary, but sufficient remains to show us that letter-writing is by no means a modern art. The Papyri have revealed to us the existence of epistolary habits which surprise those of us who have been apt to suppose that it was only with the advent of the penny-post that letter-writing became a habit. We have in the New Testament other brief collections, *viz.* the Epistles of St. Peter and those of St. John, as well as those to the Churches in the *Apocalypse;* these instances show us how even the briefest letters—such as 2-3 *John*—were penned and sent off in days when we should otherwise have been tempted to think that the rare opportunities afforded for writing would have tended to make men voluminous correspondents when occasion did offer. Perhaps the best parallel to the Pauline collection is afforded by the Letters of St. Ignatius, which were despatched from various places on his journey to martyrdom. But all these Letters differ from the purely literary correspondence of such men as Cicero and Pliny, or St. Augustine and St. Jerome, who have left us lengthy epistles not always concerned with purely doctrinal questions. The "Festival Epistles" of St. Athanasius and the collection of letters written by Denis of Corinth, but now lost, should perhaps fall into an intermediate class by themselves.

In view, then, of the mass of Letters which evidently circulated in those early days it must be acknowledged that the New Testament collection is surprisingly small, and in view of the fact that at least two of St. Paul's Letters to the Corinthians have perished it is legitimate to infer that the same fate has befallen many other Letters, whether written by St. Paul or by the other Apostles. It might have been expected that—as in the case of the *Gospels* and *Acts*—a multitude of *Apocryphal Epistles of St. Paul* would have been put into circulation. As a matter of fact, their number is surprisingly small, and those known as the *Epistles to the Laodiceans*, to the *Alexandrians*, and to *Seneca* practically exhaust the list.

All the Epistles—with the possible exception of that to the Hebrews—were written in Greek, a fact which has to be borne in mind, for Greek was not the maternal language of any of the Apostles who have left us Letters.

The contents of the Epistles of St. Paul may be described briefly as dogma, morals, and personal allusions, whether of praise, blame, or exhortation. Scattered throughout them are certain autobiographical notes which, in conjunction with the historical *Acts of the Apostles*, make up the history of the Apostle as far as it is known to us.

We referred above to other collections of Epistles—those, for instance, of St. Ignatius, of Denis of Corinth, etc. The feature, of course, which serves to place the Epistles of St. Paul in a group apart is their inspired character. It may sound a trite remark, but in our study of these Epistles we have to keep reminding ourselves of their inspired character, which precludes us from applying to them precisely the same critical principles as we do, for instance, to the Epistles of St. Ignatius. For these latter, as is especially seen in the controversy of a former age about the relative merits of the longer and shorter recensions of Ignatius' Letters, stand or fall as the result of critical investigation. Not so the Epistles of St. Paul. Their inspired character—taken in conjunction with the Church's declaration of their Canonical character—makes them in a very real sense superior to—if not immune from—criticism. A study of his letters should reveal the man, a study of inspired letters should reveal God as well as man, for they have a dual authorship. Being inspired they are essentially veracious, and we cannot call their statements of fact in question; though we may often feel baffled in our efforts at understanding in what precisely that truth consists.

The chronological order in which the Pauline Epistles were written is important. Roughly speaking, we may group them in order as follows: 1-2 *Thessalonians;* then the great Epistles which mark the third missionary journey of the Apostle, *viz. Romans*, 1-2 *Corinthians*, *Galatians;* next will come the Epistles dating from the first Roman captivity, *viz. Ephesians*, *Colossians*, *Philippians*, and *Philemon;* lastly will come the *Pastoral Epistles* and *Hebrews*. These broad lines are generally accepted. But disputed points are:

(*a*) The relation in time of the Galatian Epistle to the rest, (*b*) of the Roman Epistles to one another, (*c*) of the precise chronological position to be assigned to *Hebrews*. For details we must refer to the *Introductions* to the respective Epistles, but briefly we may say at once that the most probable chronological order seems to us to be: 1-2 *Thessalonians*, *Galatians*, 1-2 *Corinthians*, *Romans*, *Philippians*, *Ephesians*, *Colossians*, *Philemon*.

B. St. Paul's Style.

No one, whether devotional reader or critical student, but has felt baffled by the Apostle's elusive style. At times he is diffusive, at other times condensed; at one moment he seems straightforward, the next moment he is off at a tangent. Many reasons may be assigned for this. But the most simple explanation is the one most often overlooked: the *Epistles* are Letters; and we unfortunately possess neither the Letters to which they were answers nor the replies—if any—which the Apostle's Letters called forth. A homely but effective comparison might be drawn between the modern reader of the *Epistles* and the bewildered person who has to listen to his friend talking to another, invisible and inaudible, person on the telephone: in the latter instance we have but half the conversation, in the former but half the correspondence. Hence the pains which we have to devote to contemporary history to make it throw light on St. Paul's correspondence. Moreover, whereas the *Epistle to Philemon* is a real letter—and the same may be said of that to the *Philippians*—most of the other *Epistles* are more correctly *treatises* couched in epistolary form. And it is only when we are well acquainted with the controversies which gave rise to these treatises that we are in a position to unravel the knots and explain the apparent digressions.

A further difficulty arises from the way in which, as a rule, people read the *Epistles*. We should never think of reading a letter from a friend in snippets. Yet the devotional practice of reading "the daily chapter" is destructive of any real insight into the *Epistles* as a whole. The original recipients of these Letters heard them read as a whole in church; they then copied them and read

them again and again till they knew them by heart. Then—and only then—was the reading of mere sections profitable. We can take up one of Shakespeare's plays and enjoy ten minutes' perusal of it—but only on the supposition that we already know that play well. If anyone doubts the applicability of this to St. Paul's *Epistles*, let him read that to the Philippians a chapter at a time, and then let him compare the real enjoyment he derives from reading the whole four chapters at a sitting.

It goes without saying, too, that fully to enter into their meaning and the delicate allusions which pervade them, these Letters must be read in the tongue in which they were first composed. No translation can give the savour which belongs to the original, though perhaps the Vulgate translation comes as near perfection as possible.

Even this version has its defects, of course, but the more we study it the more we marvel that a translator should have been able to give us a rendering which, while not servile, is, as far as possible, word for word, and in which the translation and the original occupy almost exactly the same space. Thus, taking only a few verses at random from different *Epistles*, we find now six words of Greek represented by seven of Latin, now nine by nine, sixteen by fifteen, eight by ten, and twenty-six by twenty-six![1]

While treating of the difficulties inherent in these *Epistles*, there is one feature in them which must at times make us feel uneasy about our modern educational methods, and that is the terrific demand the *Epistles* make on the intellectual capacity of their early readers. The truth is that we are too apt to think of these early Christians as rather benighted; indeed, the Apostle himself tells us that his converts were not drawn from the cultured classes of his day.[2] The same

[1] Who the author of the Vulgate text of the *Epistles* was will presumably remain a mystery for ever. It is generally supposed that our present Latin text is due to a correction undertaken by St. Jerome for Pope Damasus, but this is not borne out by an investigation of the Latin text of St. Jerome's *Commentaries* on *Titus*, *Ephesians*, *Galatians*, and *Philemon*. The Latin text he there repudiates at every turn is our present Latin text of the Pauline *Epistles*, whereas the Latin text he contends for is not to be found in any edition as far as we are aware. The converse holds good of his *Commentary* on *St. Matthew*. See a paper by the present writer in the *Irish Theological Quarterly* for January, 1915; also de Bruyne in *R.B.*, January, 1913, and *cp. R.B.*, January, 1918, and January, 1919. For Pelagius' connection with the Vulgate, see Souter, *Expos. Times*, June and September, 1916.

[2] 1 Cor. i. 26-29.

feature reappears in St. Chrysostom's *Homilies* on the *Epistles*. As we read, for example, his *Homilies* on *Romans* we feel that he took it for granted that all his hearers knew that *Epistle* by heart and could enter with appreciation into its subtleties and into his own profound discussion of them. We meet the same phenomenon in the Arian controversies, which the modern world would regard as dialectical hairsplitting; yet the subtleties they involved were fought out in the streets!

But apart from all these sources of difficulty which are extrinsic to the *Epistles* it must be acknowledged that St. Paul's literary style is the main cause of obscurity. His theme throughout is "Jesus Christ"; as St. Jerome expresses it: "all his *Epistles* trumpet forth Jesus Christ," "Christ's Name is ever echoing from his lips," "he names the Name of Christ even superfluously and in quite extraordinary fashion."[1] And this very fact serves, as St. Jerome points out, to explain the confused construction of many of his sentences.[2] Thus, apropos of Eph. i. 13, "*In quo* et vos audito verbo veritatis Evangelii salutis vestræ, in quo et credentes . . .," St. Jerome is constrained to say: "It would seem that—according to the structure of the sentence—it is not completed, neither is there anything to correspond to the first part, *viz.* 'In quo et vos audito verbo veritatis Evangelii salutis vestræ,' since we immediately find a second 'in quo,' which is superfluous, so that the text only becomes intelligible to the reader when this latter is removed."[3] Further, as St. Jerome again remarks, St. Paul "was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and though most skilled in his own vernacular, he was yet unable to express profound ideas in a foreign tongue; in fact, he did not trouble overmuch about the words, provided he made his meaning clear."[4] St. Jerome seems, however, to feel that such a pronouncement is strong meat for babes, for elsewhere he says:

"If anyone can show by chapter and verse that the Apostle was perfect and never slipped into grammatical faults, then listen to such

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[1] *Ep.* LXIX. 1, CXXV. 7, on Eph. i. 13, *P.L.* XXII. 654, 1076, XXVI. 456.

[2] *E.g.* Eph. i. 13, 2 Cor. viii. 23, x. 1, 13, and perhaps Rom. v. 12.

[3] *On* Eph. i. 13, *P.L.* XXVI. 456.

[4] *On* Gal. vi. 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 426; *cp. on* Eph. iii. 1, *ib.* 478, and *on* Gal. iii. 18, *ib.* 364.

a one rather than to me. But for ourselves, as often as we light on solecisms or anything of that kind, we do not—as malevolent folk would do—condemn the Apostle; indeed, we can more justly be said to defend him, for, 'a Hebrew of the Hebrews,' and destitute of the tricks of rhetoric and of composition, as also of the charm derived from eloquence, he would never have been able to convert the entire world to the faith of Christ had he not preached—not so much 'in the wisdom of speech' as in 'the power of God.'"[1]

St. Jerome seems to have felt strongly on this point, for he recurs to it again and again as a necessary principle in the interpretation of St. Paul:

"The tongue does not readily express profound and recondite thoughts. And though the Apostle knows quite well what he wants to say, yet he is unable to bring it home to the ears of others in clear terms. In his own vernacular, of course, he could be most clear—for he was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and had learned letters at the feet of Gamaliel, a man most learned in the Law, but when he desires to express his own thoughts he becomes involved. If this was the case, then, with Paul, who was using the Greek tongue which he had drunk in with his mother's milk at Tarsus in Cilicia, what must we say of the Latins who, striving to translate him word for word, only render his meaning still more obscure!"[2]

Indeed, St. Jerome is not afraid to suggest that St. Paul could not even write good Greek without the assistance of Titus: "He could not in the Greek tongue set forth in worthy fashion the majesty of the Divine meaning. Consequently he had Titus as his interpreter, just as Peter had Mark; for the latter's Gospel was compiled by Peter

[1] *On* Eph. iii. 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 478.

[2] *Ep.* CXXI. 10, *P.L.* XXII. 1029-1030; *cp.* St. Ambrose, who writes to Simplicianus: "You told me you were so pleased when I took St. Paul's words as the theme of my discourse to the people. You said that it was so difficult to grasp his profound teachings, that he suggested such sublime thoughts to his hearers, and that he kindled a fire in those who discussed his teaching. You added, moreover, that in many passages he so explains himself that one who handles those passages can find nought of his own to add to them—so much so that if the would-be commentator still determines to say something he must be content to play the part of the grammarian rather than of the disputant," *Ep.* XXXVII. 1, *P.L.* XVI. 1084; and elsewhere: "I well know that there is nothing harder than to develop the Apostle's words—even Origen himself is incomparably less great on the New Testament than on the Old—etc.," *Ep.* LXXV. 1, *ib.* 1256. In the same sense see St. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium*, I. ix. (12), *P.L.* XLIII. 457, and *De Doct. Christiana*, IV. xx (41).

narrating and Mark writing."[1] St. Jerome further points out that St. Paul's Greek is particularly deficient in his *Epistles to the Corinthians.*[2]

Nor was the Apostle hampered merely by the necessity of using a language which was not native to him. He had to express in this foreign language ideas which were not merely novel to the world in general, but to himself as well. Hence he perforce coins words, or at least adapts old words to new usages.

Of words practically coined or used in a special sense by St. Paul, we have, amongst many others, *ἀνθρωπάρεσκος*, Eph. vi. 6, Col. iii. 22; the peculiar Pauline *καταργέω*, which he uses some twenty-five times; *μεθοδεία*, five times and nowhere else in N.T.; *ὀφθαλμοδουλεία*, Eph. vi. 6, Col. iii. 22 only; *πληροφορία*, five times and only in St. Paul; *σύσσωμος*, only in Eph. iii. 6; *χοικός*, only in 1 Cor. xv.; the expressive *φυσιόω*, seven times, etc. Of the antithetical expressions *κενόω* and *πλήρωμα* he has made a quite peculiar use; the same must be said of *υἱοθεσία* and *παράπτωμα*, *μεταμορφόω* and *περιποίησις*. Many words much affected by St. Paul are taken over by him from the Greek Bible, *e.g.* *παροργισμός*, *εὐδοκία*, *χαριτόω*, *περιποίησις*, *ἱκανόω*, *προκοπή*, *ἐξουθενέω*, *ἀνάθεμα* and *ἀναθεματίζω*, *εὐσέβεια* and *παρακαλέω* in the sense "to console."

As we have already noted from St. Jerome, "the Apostle did not trouble overmuch about the words provided he made his meaning clear." Hence, regardless of literary critics, he coins new words, he forces an unusual meaning into existing words, and he uses provincialisms just because a certain section of his readers will feel their force; he could not write to the Romans, for instance, in the same terms as to the Galatians; to the latter, says St. Jerome, "he uses commonplace words,"[3] and again "there are many words which the Apostle uses in a colloquial way in accordance with the usage of his city and province"; he illustrates this by referring to such words as *κατενάρκησα*, 2 Cor. xii. 13, *ἀπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας*, 1 Cor. iv. 3, *ἀνθρώπινον λέγω*, " Rom. vi. 19, and *καταβραβενέτω*, Col. ii. 18; these, and many similar words, are in use to this day among the Cilicians";[4] so, too,

[1] *Ep.* CXX. 11, *P.L.* XXII. 1002, *cf. on* Gal. iv. 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 426.
[2] *Prol. to Comment. on Ep. to Philemon*, *P.L.* XXVI. 601; *cp. Ep.* CXX. 11, and *on* Gal. vi. 1.
[3] *On* Gal. iii. 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 347, *cf. on* Eph. v. 4, *ib.* 520.
[4] *Ep.* CXXI. 10, *P.L.* XXII. 1030.

St. Jerome says that when writing to the Ephesians St. Paul is careless about the rules of grammar.[1]

The same determination to drive home his meaning led the Apostle to use the many strange compound words with which we are so familiar. Thus he has compounds with *πρό*, such as *προκαταρτίζω*, 2 Cor. ix. 5, *προεπαγγέλλω*, *ib.* Rom. i. 2, *cf.* *προκαταγγέλλω*, Acts iii. 18, 24, also with *πρός*, *e.g.* *προσαναπληρόω*, 2 Cor. ix. 11, xi. 6, with *ἀνα—ἀναπολόγητος*, Rom. i. 20, *ἀνεκδιήγητος*, 2 Cor. ix. 15, and more especially with *σύν*, these latter being particularly remarkable in the *Epistles to the Ephesians* and *Colossians*. So marked is this tendency that, while he uses the simple form *ἐργάζομαι* nineteen times, he uses the compound *κατεργάζομαι* twenty-one times, and often without any distinctive force. He loves to play upon words, which he repeats and on which he keeps ringing the changes, *e.g.* 1 Cor. xi. 5-8, xiii. 8-11, 2 Cor. i. 3-7, iii. 7-14, v. 8-9, vi. 4-10; note, too, the way in which he heaps up adjectives in Rom. i. 30-31, *cf.* 2 Tim. iii. 3.

Added to this we have the Apostle's fatal habit of digressing from the point at issue; we say "fatal" because it is the most fruitful source of misunderstanding. St. Chrysostom remarks on this: "It is Paul's wont to treat not only of what he is immediately concerned with, but when his subject suggests some other train of thought he throws himself into that with great earnestness,"[2] and he instances such passages as 1 Cor. vi. 8-11, vii. 22-23, xi. 28, Rom. iii. 30, xi. 36, etc. A notorious instance of this love of digression occurs in 1 Tim. i. 3-4, where we have a parenthesis which carries away the Apostle's thought to such an extent that the opening clauses seem suspended in the air and are left without a verb. At times, too, he writes at a white heat—for instance, to the Galatians; then the words pour from his lips, or—in the case of this Epistle—from his pen,[3] so that only a close study of the actual crisis which led to his penning the *Letter* will enable us at this distance of time to disentangle his thought. Moreover, St. Paul's *Epistles* were hardly ever carefully thought out theological treatises; they were in the truest sense of the word "occasional" and —if we may be pardoned the expression—the Apostle often had to write to catch the post; he wrote or dictated whilst

[1] *On* Eph. iii. 1, 13, *P.L.* XXVI. 478, 485.

[2] *Hom.* XXVIII. 1 on 1 Cor., *P.G.* LXI. 231-232.

[3] Gal. vi. 11. For the fact that St. Paul dictated his Epistles see *H.E.* VI. xxv.; also St. Chrysostom, *Commentary* on Gal. vi., *P.G.* LXI. 678, and St. Jerome on the same passage, *P.L.* XXVI. 529-530.

the messenger waited.[1] Hence, his thoughts running quicker than his pen or his tongue, his expression is often "hyperbatical," *i.e.* he transposes words.[2] Sometimes, too, it is difficult to say whether he is speaking ironically or not.[3]

These facts are sufficient to explain the great difficulty of St. Paul's *Epistles*. Still they must not make us think that he wrote carelessly or that his words are wanting in precision. Origen is never weary of insisting on the Apostle's consummate wisdom. Thus he says to Celsus, who had apparently sneered at St. Paul:

"Do you first of all study his *Epistles*, and when you have looked closely into the inner meaning of each phrase of them—of those, for example, which he addressed to the Ephesians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Philippians, and Romans—then prove two things: first, that you have understood St. Paul's words, and secondly that you have discovered some of them to be foolish and vain. For if a man will give himself to their attentive reading, I am well assured that either he will marvel at the intellect of one who can express such profound thoughts in simple speech, or that, by the very fact of not marvelling, he will prove himself ridiculous."[4]

This profundity of thought, combined with simple but careful and exact expression of it, compels Origen to say, when commenting on the very difficult third chapter of 2 *Corinthians*: "See, then, how carefully and thoughtfully we have to read the Apostle's Letters!"[5] He says this when speaking of St. Paul's precision in his use of the Greek tenses; a little further back he had demanded a careful study of St. Paul's use of the various Greek prepositions with their delicate shades of meaning: "A difference of but one syllable is the only change made by the Apostle."[6] Similarly St. Irenæus: "That the Apostle is often guilty of 'hyperbata' owing to the swiftness of his thoughts and the impetus of the Spirit that was in him can be seen in

[1] *E.g.* 1 Cor. i. 11, 2 Cor. viii. 18, Eph. vi. 21-22, Col. iv. 7-8, Gal. vi. 11.

[2] *On* Eph. iii. 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 476; St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. vii. 1, *P.G.* VII. 865; St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* XXXII. 5 on 1 Cor. xiii, *P.G.* LXI. 270.

[3] *E.g.* 1 Cor. iv. 7, 10, 2 Cor. x. 12, xiii. 7.

[4] *Contra Celsum* III. 20, *P.G.* XI. 943.

[5] *Lib.* III. 11 *in Ep. ad Rom.*, *P.G.* XIV. 958.

[6] *Lib.* III. 10 *in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 955; see, too, *Expositor*, March, 1918.

many instances." He gives examples, *e.g.* Gal. iii. 19 and 2 Thess. ii. 8-9; and shows how in the latter case "if one does not read carefully and with an eye to the punctuation, the Apostle will be made to say not merely things that are unbecoming, but even blasphemies . . .; in such instances we have to discover the hyperbaton by reading, and so preserve the Apostle's meaning."[1]

A further source of difficulty lies in St. Paul's cosmopolitan character. A "Hebrew of the Hebrews," he was a Greek in his culture and a Latin in his politics. The fanaticism of the Pharisee is blended with the broad outlook of the cultured Greek, and both are overruled in practical politics by the power of Rome and her world dominion. The influence of his Hebrew upbringing is evident in the use he makes of the Old Testament. He quotes it and applies it in a way which is wellnigh incomprehensible to us; he sees meanings in its phrases such as would never have occurred to our more literal and matter-of-fact Western minds, *cf.*, for example, the passages from the Psalter, which are quoted as Messianic prophecies in Heb. i-ii. A remark made by St. Jerome apropos of St. Paul's indebtedness to Rabbinic learning is very significant; when commenting on the Apostle's use of the terms *principality*, *power*, *virtue*, *dominion*, in Eph. i. 21, he says:

"We must enquire where he found these terms and whence he derived them, for it cannot be right to suppose that he who was instructed in the divine Scriptures can have said anything which was not found in those sacred volumes. Consequently, I think that he has either brought forth from the traditions of the Hebrews things which were kept secret, or at least that just as he realized that the Law was spiritual, so, too, he took a higher view of those things which were written in quasi-historical fashion (quæ quasi juxta historiam scripta sunt), and understood that what is said in *Numbers* and *Kingdoms* of kings and princes, of tribunes and centurions, is symbolic (imaginem) of other kings and princes, *viz.* of those principalities, powers, etc., which are 'in the heavenly places.'"[2]

Yet while steeped in Rabbinic interpretations of the Hebrew Scriptures, it is the Greek version which the

[1] *Adv. Hær.* III. vii. 2, *P.G.* VII. 865-866. For discussions on St. Paul's style see *Expositor*, October, 1915, and October-November, 1917.

[2] *Comment.* on Eph. i. 21, *P.L.* XXVI. 461.

Apostle more frequently uses,[1] and he does not scruple to quote as parts of the Bible books only found in the Alexandrian Canon.[2] It should be noted that the Fathers seem at times to say contradictory things about St. Paul's manner of quoting the Old Testament. Thus, Origen roundly asserts that the Apostle quotes the LXX text; for example, when, in Rom. x. 21, St. Paul quotes Isa. lxv. 2, Origen says: "The Apostle has followed the truth of the Seventy Interpreters in his writings, and gives the passage as they interpreted it."[3] But St. Jerome, while allowing that "the Apostle prefers to use the LXX rather than the Hebrew text when writing to the Romans," says:

"The reason for this is clear, for he was writing to Romans who knew not the Hebrew Scriptures; moreover, he troubled not overmuch about the words so long as the meaning was secure and the discussion he was engaged in did not suffer thereby. But otherwise, whensoever the meaning is different so that we have one meaning in the Hebrew and another in the LXX, notice that the Apostle makes use of those testimonies which he had learnt from Gamaliel, the teacher of the Law."[4] Elsewhere: "We have noticed with regard to the Old Testament that, with the exception of a few passages which Luke alone quotes—and he had a better knowledge of Greek,—whensoever a quotation is made from the Old Testament they (*viz.* the New Testament writers) do not quote according to the LXX, but according to the Hebrew; they follow no particular translation, but give the meaning of the Hebrew in their own language."[5]

With this, indeed, Origen agrees when he says that the quotation of Ps. lxviii. 23-24 in Rom. xi. 9-10 contains words "which are to be found neither in the Hebrew nor in the LXX"; he concludes: "The Apostles neither agree

[1] Thus the Hebrew text is only quoted five times by St. Paul, *viz.* Rom. ix. 17=Exod. ix. 16; Rom. xi. 4=3 Kings xix. 18; Rom. xi. 35 =Job xli. 3; Rom. xii. 19=Deut. xxxii. 35; 1 Cor. iii. 19=Job v. 13. *Cf.* Prat, *La Théologie de S. Paul*, I., Paris, 1909, pp. 35-37, though his reference to two solitary quotations from the Hebrew, p. 39, is unintelligible in view of the tables he has just given.

[2] *Wisdom* is quoted in Rom. i. 20, 32, ix. 21, xi. 32, 1 Cor. vi. 2, 2 Cor. v. 4, Eph. vi. 14, 17, 1 Thess. iv. 13, Heb. i. 3; *Ecclesiasticus* in 1 Cor. vi. 12-13.

[3] *Lib.* VIII. 7 *in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 1175, *cf.* VIII. 6 and 8 and X. 8, *P.G.* XIV. 1180 and 1264.

[4] *On* Hab. ii. 4, *P.L.* XXV. 1292; see also *on* Gal. v. 29, *P.L.* XXVI. 392.

[5] *On* Isa. xxviii. 13, *P.L.* XXIV. 320, *cp. ib.* xxix. 13, 332, *on* Gal. iii. 8, XXVI. 353, *on* Amos v. 25, XXV. 1056.

with the copies possessed by the Hebrews nor do they always keep to the words of the (LXX) Interpreters, but they set forth the meaning of Scripture in suitable words."[1] The truth is that the New Testament writers quoted the Old Testament from memory, because they were saturated with it; if they were Hebrews it was the Hebrew text that lay at the back of their minds, if Greeks—like St. Luke—then the LXX text lay at the root of their quotations. To quote St. Jerome once more:

"We should note that, in nearly all the testimonies from the Old Testament which find a place in the New, the Evangelists or the Apostles trusted to their memories; they were content to give the meaning (of the passage quoted), while often changing the order of the words and even adding or omitting words."[2]

And—against Origen—St. Jerome insists that herein lies the true explanation of most of those quotations which it is impossible to verify. Thus, apropos of the quotation, "Arise thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead," in Eph. v. 14, he declares that, "despite the most diligent examination of all editions of the Old Testament and of the Hebrew books, I have never been able to find this written." It may, he allows, be taken from some Apocryphal work, "whence indeed it is clear that the Apostle does so derive quotations in other places," but St. Jerome would rather suggest that St. Paul is here giving a message which was personal to himself. His scathing words touching the popular preacher who won applause by saying that the quotation in question referred to Adam, who had providentially been buried at the foot of the Cross, should be noted, as also his conclusion: "The only thing I am sure of on this point I will say out: that that explanation squares neither with the interpretation of the passage nor with its context."[3] Again, apropos of the famous passage "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard what things God hath prepared for them that love Him," 1 Cor. ii. 9, St. Jerome says:

"This paraphrase is taken over by the Apostle, who was 'a Hebrew of the Hebrews,' in his *Epistle to the Corinthians* from authentic books (*viz.* Isa. lxiv. 4-5, on which he is commenting). He does not give the

[1] *Lib.* VIII. 8 *in Ep. ad Romanos, P.G.* XIV. 1180.
[2] *On* Gal. iii. 8, *P.L.* XXVI. 353-354.
[3] *On* Eph. v. 14, *P.L.* XXVI. 525-526.

passage word for word—for this he refuses to trouble to do—but he sets down the true meaning of the passage and he uses it to confirm what he wants. Therefore let the mad follies of the *Apocrypha* hold their tongue, though by reason of this very quotation they are in vogue in the Churches of Christ. Of such it might truly be said: 'The devil sits with his snares with the rich in the *Apocrypha* to slay the innocent,' or again, 'He lieth in wait in the *Apocrypha*, like a lion in his den, to rob the poor.' For as a matter of fact the *Ascension of Isaias* and the *Apocalypse of Elias* have this very passage."[1]

Nor does St. Paul confine his quotations to Holy Scripture. He quotes Epimenides, Tit. i. 22, a verse which, as St. Jerome tells us,[2] was taken over by the Greek poet Callimachus; he quotes from the *Thais* of Menander, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," 1 Cor. xv. 33, and lastly, when speaking at the Areopagus, Acts xvii. 27-28, he quotes Aratus.

This acquaintance with profane literature was, to St. Jerome's mind, "non ad perfectum,"[3] since St. Paul seems to make Epimenides a Cretan. Still, we see in these quotations evidences of a breadth of mind for which the Rabbis were not famous; university life at Tarsus had made St. Paul cosmopolitan in his reading.

In fine, anyone really acquainted with the Pauline Epistles will endorse St. Jerome's famous words:

"Let us take the case of Paul the Apostle. As often as I read him I seem to hear, not words, but thunderclaps! Read his Epistles, especially those to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, wherein he is solely occupied in disputing; you will note in the quotations which he makes from the Old Testament what a clever and prudent artist he is in what he does! His words seem simple; they seem like those of some guileless rustic; yet whichever way you look at them they are lightning shafts!"[4]

c. The Value of St. Paul's Epistles.

Many who will read the Gospels and appreciate them find it exceedingly hard to read the Epistles. They feel that they are obscure, that they are merely "occasional" in the sense, that is, that they are only "letters," and that since we only

[1] *On* Isa. lxiv. 4-5, *P.L.* XXIV. 622.
[2] *Ep.* LXX. 2, CXXX. 18, *P.L.* XXII. 665 and 1121.
[3] *On* Isa. i. 7, *on* Eph. v. 14, *on* Gal. iv. 24; *cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* I. 14 and 19, and especially St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* iii. on Tit. i., *P.G.* LXII. 677-678, and *De Mundi Creatione*, *P.G.* LXVI. 486.
[4] *Ep.* XLVIII. 13, *P.L.* XXII. 502.

possess one side of the correspondence, we are at a disadvantage when we try to unravel their meaning. The obscurity is undeniable, as we have seen, but the only legitimate conclusion is that the Epistles demand study.

St. Chrysostom puts this very forcibly:

"Every time I hear the Epistles of St. Paul read, and that is sometimes three or four times a week, whenever, that is, we keep the commemorations of the Holy Martyrs, I rejoice as at the sound of a spiritual trumpet; I feel my desires enkindled when I hear the voice of a friend so dear to me; indeed, I almost seem to see him actually present and talking with me. Yet at the same time I feel such deep regret that all do not know this great man as they should; some, indeed, are so little acquainted with him that they do not even know how many Epistles he wrote! And this is not because they cannot learn, but because they decline to spend time upon the Saint's writings. If I myself know anything of St. Paul's Epistles it is not through any peculiar skill of mine, but simply from assiduous reading of him and a very deep affection for him."[1]

And again, when he has been extolling the merits of Aquila and Priscilla who had extended hospitality to St. Paul, he says:

"Perhaps, however, you will say, 'What can I do, for I have not St. Paul?' Yet if you will you can have him in a fuller sense even than they had; for it was not Paul's looks that made them what they were—it was Paul's words. So, too, if you will, you can have Paul and Peter and John and the whole band of the Prophets and Apostles holding conversation with you. You have only to take up the books of these holy men and read frequently what they have written and then they can make you, too, what the tentmaker's wife became. And why stop at Paul? For if you will you can have, too, the Lord of Paul, since He will speak to you by Paul's tongue."[2] And again: "In order, then, that we may be profitable to ourselves and to others as well, let us always have Paul in our hands, and let us occupy ourselves with his writings in deep joy of soul, much as though we were walking in a beautiful meadow or garden. In this way we shall be able to keep ourselves free from vice, we shall be able to embrace virtue, and so obtain the rewards promised to us."[3]

And once more:

"We cannot afford merely to glance at what Scripture says—on the ground that it seems trifling. For what Scripture says flows from the grace of the Holy Spirit; and the grace of the Spirit is never cheap and trifling, but always great and marvellous and worthy of the

[1] *Proemium* to the *Commentary on Romans*, *P.G.* LX. 391.
[2] *Hom.* XXX. 4, in Rom., *ed.* Gaume, IX. 818.
[3] *Hom.* XXI. 4, in 2 Cor. *ed.* Gaume, II. 695.

munificent Giver. . . . Precious stones derive not their value so much from their size as from the beauty of their nature; so it is in the reading of Scripture. Other teaching is, it is true, much occupied with trifles, and, since much of it is futile, it leaves men with their hands empty. . . . But not so the grace of the Spirit; through the medium of very few words it teaches those who are attentive to it the soundest philosophy. Indeed, there are many for whom just one word is sufficient to provide them with food for life's whole journey."[1]

That these Epistles are merely "occasional" letters is only partly true, for many of them are rather to be regarded as set formal treatises, as we have seen. But besides all this, the fact remains that these Epistles are inspired, and therefore contain a divine message for all who really strive to discover it.

At the same time it may be fairly urged that letters constitute an awkward and unexpected medium for the conveyance of divine teaching; we seem to be placed in a disadvantageous position from the outset. This is in part true; but it must be borne in mind that these letters are not the only medium for divine teaching in the New Testament: the *Gospels* with their plain, positive teaching stand to us as the *Law* in the Old Testament; *Acts* may be compared with the *Books of Kings;* the *Epistles* with the *Prophets*, and the *Apocalypse* with portions of the prophetical writings, *e.g. Daniel.* Nor has the New Testament abolished the Old; hence it is that the Psalter remains as the official Prayer-Book of the New as well as of the Old Dispensation.[2]

Then, moreover, we are not to forget that in all ages the Church has valued these Epistles; no one of her Doctors but has steeped himself in these inspired outpourings. So much is this the case that one is almost tempted to ask what the great Doctors would have done had there been no St. Paul! Origen and Chrysostom among the Greeks, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome among the Latins: how they pored over these letters, and what eulogies they pass upon them and their writer! Thus St. Augustine, when commenting on the words of Ps. cxlvii, *He sendeth forth His ice like morsels of bread*, says:

"If, then, the whole Body of Christ (the Church) is one loaf, then, too, the members of Christ are morsels of bread. He fashions His

[1] *Hom.* I. i. *ad Populum Antiochen. ed.* Gaume, II. 2-3.
[2] *Cp.* St. Jerome, *Ep.* LVII. 3, *P.L.* XXII. 548.

members sometimes out of hard morsels, and yet even these are profitable and provide food for others. No need to take many examples of this. Simply look at that most famous of men—the Apostle Paul. There is no one better known to us than he; there is nothing more delightful, nothing more familiar in Scripture, than his story. Yet if there are folk who, to become 'morsels of bread,' should have to pass from such exceeding hardness as was his lot, then let them all take him for an example and come forward, so that in their case, too, those words may come true: *He sends forth His ice like morsels of bread.* For assuredly Paul was ice; he was hard, he resisted the truth, he clamoured against the Gospel, like ice trying to harden itself in the face of the sun! Oh, how hard he was! He had grown up in the Law; he had learned at the feet of Gamaliel, the doctor of the Law; yet had he not heard Moses and the Prophets preaching of Christ? What astonishing hardness! The heathen had naturally not heard the Prophets; they had never heard Moses; they were chilly, of course, yet they were not ice. But this man, who believed the very words that preached of Christ and yet did not believe in Christ when He actually came, he was overmuch hard! Because, then, he was ice, he seemed indeed shining and bright, yet he was hard and altogether too cold. How did he seem shining and bright? Forsooth, as 'a Hebrew of the Hebrews, according to the Law a Pharisee.' That is the brilliancy of ice! And the hardness of ice? 'According to zeal, persecuting the Church of God.' Among them that stoned Stephen he was the hard one; nay, perhaps he was harder than any of them, for he it was who looked after their garments so that he might stone him with all their hands!"[1]

And over and above all this no one can read these Epistles without feeling overwhelmed by the wealth of teaching in the most concrete form which they afford us. To begin with, they are a veritable mine of theology, even for those who dare not regard themselves as trained theologians. The Fatherhood of God is referred to in those opening formulæ which are so characteristic; the work of the Son is of course spoken of at every turn; even His position as "the Word of God"—which many fancy is peculiar to St. John's *Prologue*—finds full expression in Col. i. 13-18, while His redemptive work is referred to again and again, and *Hebrews* is wholly occupied with the Priesthood of Christ. It is the same with the Holy Spirit and the Trinity in general; note the closing words of 2 *Corinthians*. On Predestination and

[1] *Enarr.* in Ps. cxlvii. 17-18; *P.L.* XXXVII. 1934; *cp.* St. Chrysostum, *Hom.* XVIII. 2 on *Acts*, Gaume, IX. 152, and *Hom.* XXII. 4 on *Romans*, *ib.* x. 231: "He slew him (Stephen) with a thousand murderers' hands."

its mysteries we have the immortal treatise in Rom. ix-xi, and in Eph. i-iii; for the doctrine of Faith we turn to *Romans* and *Galatians;* on the Resurrection of Christ, which is the foundation stone of Christianity, we have, besides innumerable references, the great passage in 1 Cor. xv; similarly on the Holy Eucharist, 1 Cor. x-xi, while the same Epistle deals with the problems of the married life. Then there is the Apostle's personal life, that amazing combination of the active and the contemplative aspects of the true missionary life which becomes the more wonderful the more we study it. For whatever St. Paul is, he is the penitent *par excellence.* How often he refers to his conversion, how often to the ineffable grace of God which alone has preserved him, sanctified him, and made his work fruitful! If we want information on prayer we turn to 1 Tim. ii, and throughout; if on almsdeeds, we have 2 Cor. viii-ix; if on mortification, we have the famous words in 1 Cor. ix; while the whole of 2 *Corinthians* deals with the apostolic life and its vicissitudes; in 1 Cor. i and ix we learn on what we should preach and in what spirit. In *Galatians,* besides the picture of a fearless rebuker of failings, we are told in detail of the fruits of the Holy Spirit, as well as of the deadly sins. As for the Apostle's own personal character, where could we find it better portrayed than in those Epistles penned from his prison in Rome, *viz. Philemon, Philippians,* and *Colossians?* His patience, his humility, and his intense personal interest in all that concerned his converts and the Churches he had founded is displayed at every turn. And throughout we are made to feel that we are listening to a man to whom God and the things of God were absolutely everything, to one who feels that he has been wonderfully called to a great work for the accomplishment of which "the time is short," yet the work has to be done in God's way and time. Hence sufferings and imprisonment, the crippling of his activity by long weary months of apparent inactivity do not vex his soul, as he so expressively declares in writing to the Philippians.

In fine, no one can steep himself in these wonderful Letters without experiencing an ever-growing admiration for the Doctor of the Gentiles. It is not merely his dia-

lectical skill which so amazed St. Augustine,[1] nor his shrewd wit, nor again his apostolic spirit, which so stirs us; rather it is the man himself who stands portrayed in these Letters. His versatility, his deeply affectionate nature, his spirit of sacrifice, his complete absorption in Christ Who has called him, graced him, saved him, and will afterwards glorify him, and yet Whom he is prepared even to lose if so he may gain his brethren—all these things and a thousand others which defy analysis combine to make the student of St. Paul love him. No one felt this more intensely than St. Chrysostom whom we have so often quoted. He is never tired of sounding forth the praises of the Apostle: Paul is more of a king than any human king;[2] he transcends all the Saints;[3] yet is he the most deeply humble of men;[4] his great deeds can never be duly told;[5] his conversion was—even humanly speaking—one of the greatest marvels. But we are not to stop at admiration; we must imitate him, and we can if we but choose. It is not surprising, then, that when Chrysostom began to describe St. Paul to the populace at Antioch they applauded him.[6] Besides innumerable sermons on the glories of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and allusions to him in, one might almost say, every sermon he preached, St. Chrysostom delivered three successive sermons on the words in 1 Cor. iv. 13, *Having the same spirit of faith;* he commences his third sermon by saying:

"The profundity of the Apostle's meaning will the more readily appear when we realize what streams of wisdom can flow from one short sentence of his. When you see what a wealth of that wisdom which is beyond words can be drawn from just one phrase you will

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[1] *Contra Cresconium*, xiv-xxii (17-27), *P.L.* XLIII. 456.

[2] *De Resurrectione Mortuorum*, 3-4, *ed.* Gaume, II. 505-506.

[3] *De Laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli, Hom.* I., *ib.* 572.

[4] St. Chrysostom is never tired of dwelling on St. Paul's humility as being of the most genuine kind, *e.g. Hom.* XXXV. 5 in 1 Cor.; *Hom.* I. 3 in 2 Cor.; *Hom.* II. 1 and VI. 2 *ib.; Comment. on Ep. ad Gal.*, i. 11; *De Mutatione Nominum*, IV. 6, etc. He even insists on the true humility underlying the chapters where the Apostle feels impelled "to glory," *Hom.* V. *de Laudibus, ed.* Gaume, II. 602-603.

[5] *Hom.* XI. 6 in Gen. ii. 27-28; *Hom.* XII. 5 *ib.*, XIII. 3 in 1 Cor.; *Hom.* I. 4 on Phil., etc.

[6] *Hom.* XIII. 3 on 1 Cor. *ed.* Gaume, X. 131.

not, I am sure, hesitate to take up his Epistles for yourselves, and, in the hope of thence deriving similar fruit, will earnestly study his every word. . . . For we, like miners, are digging out gold, not indeed the gold that charms the sense, but the gold which appeals to the mind; we are not working this world's mines, but the mines of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, Paul's Epistles are mines and wells: mines, because they provide riches far more precious than gold; wells, because they never fail—the more you draw upon them the more they give out. This last point is clear in history. Five hundred years have passed since Paul lived,[1] and during all that time many commentators, teachers, and interpreters have drawn heavily on his wells, yet they have never been able to exhaust the riches therein contained. This is because these are not treasures appealing to the senses, and hence are not consumed by the hands of the many who dig after them; they only increase and multiply the more. Why, indeed, stop at the commentators who have preceded us? How many in times to come are going to treat of these Epistles? And after them, again, how many?"[2]

D. How to read the Epistles.

Still there always remains for a student the difficulty of knowing how precisely to read the Epistles; it seems so hopeless to read them chapter by chapter, and yet it is wellnigh impossible to attempt to read each one at a sitting, though this certainly can be done, and should be done in the case of the briefer Epistles. A little examination, however, will show that, as a matter of fact, these Epistles fall each of them into a dogmatic and a moral portion—what we are to believe and what we are to do; this seems to be particularly the case with the shorter Epistles written during the first imprisonment at Rome—thus *Philippians* and *Colossians*, for example, lend themselves readily to such a division; the same is the case with *Romans*, where chaps. i-xii may be described as treating of dogma, chaps. xiii-xvi of morals, though here again chaps. xv-xvi consist almost wholly of salutations.

At the same time this will not carry us very far. And just as we should be puzzled to make much out of an undated letter addressed by someone we did not know to a person or persons of whom we knew neither the date at which they lived, nor the circumstances of their lives, nor the particular needs which caused such a letter to be

[1] St. Chrysostom died A.D. 407, so his "five hundred" years is rather rhetorical than exact.

[2] *Sermon* III. 1, *on* 2 Cor. iv. 13, *ed.* Gaume, III. 333-334.

addressed to them, so in the case of St. Paul's Epistles. We must know at least the outlines of his life, we must know something of the recipients of each letter before we can read it intelligently.[1] Further, we must know something of the writer's methods in inditing an Epistle; it is a great thing really to grasp the fact that St. Paul nearly always dictated his letters, that he rarely wrote them with his own hand.[2] We must know, too, something of the author's style, and if we have learned anything about the epistolary style in vogue in his time it will help us considerably. This is where the Greek Papyri have proved of such immense help to students of the Greek Testament.[3] Once more: St. Paul's Letters form a collection; if, then, we can establish pretty definitely in what order they were written we shall be able to detect, perhaps, a real progress in his thought and teaching.[4] When, too, we understand that these Letters are to a great extent "occasional," that they were never intended to be precise vehicles for teaching Christianity, but rather presupposed its teaching,[5] we shall not be surprised to discover gaps in their theology, nor shall we be puzzled by the fact that the Epistles are silent on many points which would interest us immensely. Thus, it is sometimes urged, for example, that it is hard to prove the Divinity of Christ from St. Paul. So it is, but this is simply because he takes the doctrine for granted; his oral

[1] See St. Chrysostom's remarks on this quoted above from the *Proemium* to his *Homilies* on *Romans*, *P.G.* LX. 391.

[2] See St. Chrysostom on this point, *Comment. on Gal.* vi., *P.G.* LXI. 678. To many the fact that St. Paul generally dictated his Epistles may seem a trifling thing; but the same might be said of the curiously stereotyped opening and closing formulæ he uses in his Letters. Of these formulæ, however, Origen remarks after attempting to classify them: "This may seem a more idle than useful observation; yet one who realizes that there is nothing idle in Scripture will not regard such differences and diversities as idle things," *Lib.* I. 8 in *Ep. ad Romanos*, Delarue, IV. 467-468. For a similar pronouncement see St. Jerome, *Adv. Pelag.* II. 8, *P.L.* XXIII. 543, and on *Philemon* 1-3, XXVI. 608.

[3] See Vol. II., pp. 100-102, etc.

[4] See St. Chrysostom as above in note 1 and also *Comment. on Col.* i., *ed.* Gaume, IX. 299. After establishing the relative order of the Corinthian Epistles and that to the Romans, Origen remarks: "And here we must note that the later the Epistle the more perfect is Paul found to be . . .," *Lib.* X. 14 in *Ep. ad Romanos*, Delarue, IV. 478.

[5] *E.g.* 1 Cor. xi. 23, xv. 1, etc.

teaching was taken up more with that point than any other, for the basis of Christianity was Christ's resurrection, and that doctrine involves His Godhead. It is much the same with the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Holy Eucharist: these were expounded orally as of prime necessity; consequently allusions to these doctrines are precious, since, like footsteps in the sand, though slight in themselves, they bear infallible witness to the greater truth without which they would never have appeared.

The same line of argument holds good for the relationship between the Epistles and *Acts:* the marvel is not that they do not dovetail into one another, much as our fingers slide into our gloves, but that the apparent conflict is so slight. For these two sets of documents are entirely different from one another; moreover, we have always to bear in mind that they cover a very considerable period of time.

Last of all it should ever be remembered, and with gratitude, that we are the heirs of the entire series of Christian interpreters of the New Testament. It is no exaggeration to say that the greatest intellects of the world have been engaged on the study of these documents during all the centuries which have elapsed since they were penned. We, then, do not begin the task of interpreting where these great teachers began; we begin where they left off. The work done by such giants as Origen, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, and on some particular dogmatic points by St. Athanasius, is an undying asset to the Christian Church, and never has been, nor ever will be, surpassed. It is one of the greatest misfortunes of modern study of the New Testament, as well as of the Old, and of the Pauline Epistles in particular, that patristic work on them is neglected as though it were of little value. One can safely affirm that no one can really grasp St. Paul's Epistles till he has read them through St. Chrysostom's spectacles. One last quotation from him and we have done. At the close of his famous *Sermons* on the *Epistle to the Romans*, the great Bishop says:

"If we will but listen to Paul here, then too we shall see him there, though we indeed shall not be standing near him; for from afar we shall look on him shining in glory near the King's throne, where the cherubim give glory to God and where the seraphim fly. There we

shall see Paul with Peter, the leader of the band with the chief, and we shall be filled with the charity of God. . . . Wherefore do I love Rome. I might indeed praise her for many other things: for her size, her hoary antiquity, her beauty, her thronging people, her power, her wealth, for the great deeds she has performed in war. But putting all these things on one side I call Rome 'blessed,' since to the Romans Paul wrote when he lived on earth; because he so loved them; because he addressed them when actually present in their midst; because, too, he there closed his life. For this reason is this city more famous than any other. Like some strong and robust body that city has two eyes that shine—the bodies of her twin Saints. Not even the sun when it sends forth its rays illumines the heavens in the same way as does the city of Rome illumine the entire world when through those two lamps she sends forth her light. From this city was Paul taken; from this city Peter too. Now think of this, and think of it with horror: what a sight will Rome look on when she sees Peter and Paul suddenly rising from their tombs and carried up to meet the Lord!"[1]

E. The Authenticity and Canonicity of St. Paul's Epistles.[2]

The Pauline Epistles as a body were wholly rejected by some very early heretics, *e.g.*, the Encratites,[3] the Ebionites,[4] the Severians,[5] and the Elcesaites.[6] In so doing they were but fulfilling the Apostle's own prophecy[7] of those who should "depart from the faith . . . forbidding to marry," etc. In other words, these early heretics—like Luther at a later date—rejected just those Epistles the doctrine of which they disliked, a convenient eclecticism! Still, such men were more logical than Luther in that they rejected St. Paul *en bloc;* they did not pick and choose as Luther did when he rejected *St. James's Epistle* as an "Epistle of straw." They were more logical too than Marcion, who rejected the *Pastoral Epistles* and that to the *Hebrews* because they did not suit him.

Marcion's "Apostolicon." — The heretic Marcion, who flourished about A.D. 140, exercised an amazing influence on the Church, not only of his day, but of subsequent centuries. So dangerous was his influence felt to be that practically

[1] St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* XXXII. 2 in *Ep. ad Rom.*, *ed.* Gaume, ix. 825.
[2] For details see Vol. II., pp. 64-92.
[3] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, V. 65, *P.G.* XI. 1287.
[4] *Ibid.* and *H.E.* III. xxvii. [5] *H.E.* IV. xxix.
[6] *H.E.* VI. xxxviii., Theodoret, *Hæreticarum Fabulæ*, II. 7; Origen, *Tom. IV. in Joan.*, *P.G.* XIV. 315.
[7] 1 Tim. iv. 1-3; 2 Tim. iii. 1-9.

every one of the Fathers who wrote against heretics published a treatise against Marcion.[1] Here we are only concerned with Marcion's treatment of the Canon of the New Testament, and more especially of St. Paul's *Epistles*. He rejected all the Gospels save that of Luke,[2] and even this he mutilated by omitting the first two chapters[3] and other portions which did not suit his purpose. St. Paul was his favourite, as Tertullian says,[4] hence, too, his acceptance of the Gospel emanating from Paul's disciple Luke. But even his "Apostolicon," as he called it, was a mutilated edition, for he rejected the *Pastoral Epistles* as well as that to the *Hebrews*.[5] The former he rejected as being in ill accord with his views of matrimony,[6] while the *Epistle to the Hebrews* was too full of quotations from the Old Testament to satisfy him, for he rejected the Old Testament entirely.[7] He was also the precursor of some modern critics in excising chaps. xv-xvi from the *Epistle to the Romans*.[8]

It was only to be expected that various Epistles should be falsely attributed to St. Paul, if not indeed actually published under his name, in order to secure for them a wider recognition. The most notorious of these is, of course, the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*.[9] The *Muratorian Fragment* mentions this Epistle, and says that it was "fictitiously" circulated in the interests of the Marcionites;[10] it also mentions with the same qualification an *Epistle to the Alexandrians*, of which apparently nothing further is known.

[1] Thus, in addition to the formal treatises *Adv. Marcionem* by Tertullian, *P.L.* II., and the constant allusions throughout St. Irenæus' *Adv. Hæreses* as well as St. Epiphanius' briefer statements, *Hær.* XLII., *P.G.* XLI. 695, we know that there once existed treatises against this heretic by St. Justin, *H.E.* IV. xi. 8, xxi. 9, *cf. Adv. Hær.* IV. xvi. 2, also by Theophilus of Antioch, *H.E.* IV. xxiv. 3, a formal one by St. Irenæus, *H.E.* IV. xxv. and V. viii. 10, another by Modestus, *H.E.* IV. xxv, by Bardesanes the Syrian, *H.E.* IV. xxx. 1, and by Rhodo, *H.E.* V. xiii. 1.

[2] Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, I. xxvii. 2, III. xii. 12.

[3] *Ibid.* I. 1 and especially IV. vi-vii, *P.L.* II. 368-369.

[4] *Ibid.* IV. ii.

[5] St. Jerome, *Prol.* to his *Commentary on Titus*, *P.L.* XXVI. 555-556.

[6] Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, I. i.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.* V. xiv., *P.L.* II. 507; *cf.* Origen *in loco*, *viz. Lib.* X. 43 *in p. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 1290.

[9] See under Introduction to the *Epistle to the Ephesians*.

[10] Vol. II., p. 89.

It is somewhat remarkable that spurious Pauline Epistles were not more largely circulated.

Acts of Paul are not infrequently mentioned. Thus Origen quotes the words "I must be crucified again" as attributed in the *Acta Pauli* to the Saviour Himself, but he adds: "If anyone cares, that is, to receive them."[1] Again he quotes with approval—at least of their significance—"the words written in the *Acts of Paul*, 'Hic est Verbum animal Vivens.'"[2] These *Acta Pauli* must be carefully distinguished from the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, which were once very popular and are still extant. St. Jerome says: "The *Periodoi* (journeys) of Paul and Thecla, as well as the entire fable about the lion that was baptized, we regard as apocryphal. . . . Tertullian, who lived not so remote from those days, tells us that a certain priest in Asia who was a zealous follower of St. Paul was convicted by St. John of having written the book, and when he confessed that he had done so out of devotion to the Apostle he was therefore—as some suspect—removed from his office."[3] The *Gelasian Decrees*, vi, formally excluded the book from the Canon.

F. Bibliography.

PATRISTIC.—*Greek:* ST. CHRYSOSTOM, *d.* A.D. 407, stands easily first of all Commentators on the Epistles, though naturally he is not equally strong in his handling of them all. His Commentaries on *Romans* and 1-2 *Corinthians* are generally regarded as his greatest exegetical work.

Most of his Commentaries on the Epistles will be found translated in the *Oxford Series* of the Fathers. THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA commented on all the Epistles, but only a Latin translation exists. He is brief, but nearly always stimulating, though his heretical tenets have to be borne in mind in reading him; *ed.* Swete in two vols., Cambridge, 1880. THEODORET, *d.* 457, *P.G.* LXXXII, gives us St. Chrysos-

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[1] *Tom.* XX. 12 *in Joan.*, *P.G.* XIV. 599.

[2] *De Principiis*, I. ii. 3; it is hard to believe that Delarue is correct in his surmise that these words are merely an echo of Heb. iv. 12. Eusebius, *H.E.* III. iii. 5 and xxv. 4, explicitly rejects these "Acta" as spurious; see, too, St. Philastrius, *Hær.* LXXXVII.

[3] *De Viris Illustr.* VII. This is a quotation from Tertullian's *De Baptismo*, xvii., *P.L.* I. 1219. St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, XXX. 4, appears to quote from the same *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*. The *Acta* will be found in Tischendorf's *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 1851; for recent discoveries of papyrus fragments, etc., see *E.E.F.* 1897-98, p. 60; also *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, I. i., p. 51.

tom's teaching in a condensed form, and is exceedingly practical. THEOPHYLACT, *d. c.* 1118. *P.G.* CXXV, wrote much later, and is, of course, immensely dependent on St. Chrysostom,

Latin: AMBROSIASTER, *P.L.* XVII; this Commentator has not yet been identified; he appears to have written towards the close of the fourth century and his Commentary is valuable. PRIMASIUS, *P.L.* LXVIII, has also not been identified, though the Commentary has generally been attributed to the Bishop of Adrumetum of that name in the sixth century. PELAGIUS, *P.L.* XXX; his Commentary, which is given as an appendix to the works of St. Jerome, is of great interest for the Latin text of the Epistles which it presents; the same is the case with the Commentary attributed to Primasius; both have been extensively studied of late by Souter, *The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of St. Paul* and *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, also by C. H. Turner in *J.T.S.* for 1902 and 1906. ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, *d.* 1274; amongst his works will be found a Commentary on all the Epistles of St. Paul; it has often been republished, but is too much neglected; for an exposition of the sequence of thought and for the doctrinal teaching it is unrivalled. CARDINAL CAJETAN, O.P., *d.* 1531, published a *Commentary on the Epistles* which shows his independent spirit at every turn as well as his familiarity with the Greek text. ERASMUS, *d.* 1536, commented on all the Epistles, but his humanistic tendencies make it less useful than could be wished. CORNELIUS À LAPIDE, *d.* 1614, has left us what will always remain the great standard Catholic Commentary, combining immense reading with really devotional teaching; the Commentaries on 1-2 *Corinthians* and *Galatians* have been translated by Cobb, 1908. ESTIUS, *d.* 1614, is too little read nowadays; his Commentary is marked by a judicious sobriety which gives great confidence in his judgement. Another devotional Commentary is that of BERNARDINO DA PICONIO, *Triplex Expositio*, 1701.

MODERN COMMENTARIES.—Catholic Commentaries on all the Epistles are yet a *desideratum*, though McEvilly's Commentaries are useful, while splendid work has been done of late on individual Epistles. English readers, however, have a very large choice among non-Catholic Commentaries by reliable authors, *e.g.* in the *Speaker's Commentary*, the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, and in *Ellicott's Commentary;* also in the standard Commentaries by Dean Alford and Bishop Wordsworth, and in the *International Critical Commentary*, which has produced Commentaries on most of the Epistles. Two Catholic Commentaries need bringing up to date: Drach, *Épîtres de S. Paul*, 1871, and Van Steenkiste.

GENERAL INTRODUCTIONS to St. Paul's Life and his Epistles are numerous. PALEY'S *Horæ Paulinæ* did pioneer work in showing how the Acts and the Epistles dovetailed into one another; they, too, are too much neglected at the present time, 1st *ed.* 1850. SCHURER, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, five vols., is invaluable, though the English translation is now in need of revision as there has been more than one edition of the German work since the translation appeared, T. and T. Clark, 1886. CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, though antecedent to much recent research, is still a valuable help to the understanding of the Apostle and his times, 3rd *ed.* 1857. LEWIN, *The Life and Letters o St. Paul*, 5th *ed.* 1890, is also useful,

though cumbersome in form. ZAHN, *Introduction to the New Testament*, three vols., English tr. 1909, is most useful and on the whole conservative in views. RAMSAY's various works, *St. Paul the Traveller*, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, *The Teaching of St. Paul in Terms of the Present Day*, 1913, are especially useful; indeed, as affording a picture of local conditions, in Asia Minor especially, they are invaluable. JACQUIER, *History of the Books of the New Testament*, Vol. I., *The Epistles of St. Paul*, 1907, is very helpful and scholarly. PRAT, S.J., *La Théologie de St. Paul*, 2 vols., Paris, 1900, is exceedingly useful. On broader lines SHAW, *The Pauline Epistles*, 1903, is useful, and on the doctrinal aspect of the Epistles, SABATIER, *The Apostle Paul*, is stimulative, though he has to be read with care; the English tr. 1891, has appended a good essay by Findlay on the *Pastoral Epistles*. VERNON BARTLETT's *Apostolic Age* can also be recommended, 1900.

In addition there are the various BIBLICAL DICTIONARIES, those edited by Vigouroux and Hastings being especially practical. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* has never been brought up to date, but there are certain articles which have become classic. The same may be said within limits of the old-fashioned *Biblical Encyclopædia* published by Kitto, 3rd *ed.* 1862. Revolutionary views in any number will be found in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* by Cheyne and Black, and also in the later editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

"THE GENTILE AND THE JEW AND THE GRACE OF GOD."

A. The Pre-eminence of the Epistle: its Difficulty.
B. The Theme of the Epistle: Analysis of it.
C. Its Authenticity and Canonicity.
D. The Background of the Epistle.
   i. The Jews in Rome.
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   iii. How St. Paul came to write this Epistle.
   iv. Peculiar Characteristics of the Epistle.
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E. When and Where the Epistle was Written.
F. SS. Peter and Paul and the Church at Rome.
G. The Vocabulary of the Epistle.
H. Its Theological Teaching.
J. Bibliography.

A. Its Pre-eminence: its Difficulty.

The *Epistle to the Romans* stands first in order in the collection of St. Paul's Epistles. Not that it was the first in order of time,[1] for, as we shall see, it was written after the *Epistles* to the *Thessalonians*, the *Galatians*, and the *Corinthians*. It is commonly said that this Epistle owes its position to the profundity of the doctrine of which it treats, but St. Jerome repeatedly claims for the *Epistle to the Ephesians* that it is the most profound of all the Apostle's Letters. Thus he says: "To none of the Churches did the Apostle

[1] See St. Thomas, *Prologus in Epistolas B. Pauli*, Liège, 1857, I., p. 8.

write things so full of mystical teaching, to none other did he so reveal the mysteries hidden from the ages!"[1] It is, however, quite consonant with facts to say that the *Epistle to the Romans* owes its primacy of position to the dignity of the Church to which it was addressed, and on which St. Ignatius of Antioch passes so magnificent a eulogy:

"The Church beloved of God and illumined by His will . . . the Church, too, which holds the Presidency in the Roman district,[2] worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy to be called blessed, worthy of praise, worthy as having attained the mark, worthy to be called chaste, presiding over (the assemblage of) charity. . . ."[3]

But however this may be, we can unhesitatingly assign to this Epistle the primacy of difficulty:

"The whole *Epistle to the Romans*," says St. Jerome, "calls for interpretation; it is involved in such obscurity that to understand it we need the assistance of the same Holy Spirit Who dictated it through the Apostle. . . . Nothing, however (in the way of interpretation), appeals to me save what is ecclesiastical and what we are not afraid to declare in the Church. . . . It is much better simply to confess one's ignorance and, amongst the many other things which we do not know, to take refuge in the obscurity of this passage (he is discussing Rom. ix. 14-29) than, in our anxiety to prove the justice of God, fall into (various) heresies."[4]

This difficulty is due partly to an unquestionable remissness in style; "many things," says St. Jerome, "are to be found in the *Epistle to the Romans* as well as in those to the other Churches, especially to the *Corinthians*, which are said in remiss fashion and almost in conversational style."[5] It arises also from the speed at which the Apostle composed, and is probably largely due to the fact that he dictated, with the result that his thoughts and words outran his scribe's pen. Moreover, St. Paul was not a Greek: "He was a Hebrew of the Hebrews," remarks St. Jerome, "and most skilled in his own vernacular; consequently he was

[1] *Prologue* to *Comment. on Ephesians*, *P.L.* XXVI. 441; *Præf.* to *Lib.* III. on Eph., *ib.* 513; also on Eph. iii. 1 and iv. 19.

[2] This expression, as are several others in this short extract, is exceedingly difficult to render with precision.

[3] *Prologue* to *Epistle to the Romans.*

[4] *Ep.* CXX. 10, *P.L.* XXII. 997.

[5] *Prol.* to *Comment on Ep. to Philemon*, *P.L.* XXVI. 601; see, too, *on* Eph. iii. 1, *ibid.* 478.

unable to express in a foreign tongue his own most profound thoughts. Indeed, he recked little for the words provided he was clear about his meaning!"[1] St. Jerome even goes so far as to maintain that the Apostle's grief at not finding Titus was due, at least in part, to the fact that he could not explain himself in Greek without the assistance of Titus![2] The Apostle had, moreover, to coin terms wherewith to express ideas which up to that time had no equivalent in Greek, much as the scholastic theologians of a later date had to mint a Latin which was unknown to Cicero.[3]

Origen is never weary of pointing out that we must read this Epistle "carefully."[4] The thought, he says, is confused;[5] it is not always easy to see who precisely is addressed whether the believer or the unbeliever, the circumcised Jew or the convert from heathenism;[6] the argument seems at times to lack consecutiveness;[7] appeal is made to the "Law," and the "Law" stands now for the law of nature, now for the positive Mosaic Law,[8] and all this involves apparent contradiction.[9] Small wonder, then, that Origen should characterize this Epistle as the happy hunting-ground of "those who would split up the Church's unique doctrine into the various teachings of the sects, and who look only at those passages of Holy Scripture which favour their own tenets, while they refuse to extend even a finger-tip to those passages which make against them."[10]

B. The Theme of the Epistle.

The theme of the Epistle may be conveniently expressed in the words "The Gentile and the Jew," or the true meaning of the Gospel in theory, chaps. i-xi, in practice, chaps. xii-xvi. A brief analysis will show us the lines along which the Apostle proceeds:

[1] *On Gal.* vi. 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 426.
[2] *Ep.* CXX. 11, *P.L.* XXII. 1002.
[3] *Cf.* St. Jerome on Eph. vi. 11, *P.L.* XXVI. 548.
[4] *Lib.* III. 11 *in Comment. in Epistolam ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 958.
[5] *Præf. in Comment. in Epistolam ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 833.
[6] *Lib.* II. 11, *ib.* 895.
[7] *Lib.* III. 1, *ib.* 921-923.
[8] *Lib.* III. 6, 7, 9, *ib.* 937, 942, 952.
[9] *Lib.* III. 7.
[10] *Lib.* III. 7, *ib.* 942, III. ii. 958.

A. Chaps. i-xi. *The true meaning of the Gospel in theory.*

(*a*) The Gentiles are capable of knowing God's truth; hence their culpability and due punishment, i. 16-32.

(*b*) This does not mean, however, that the Jews have any ground for boasting, since neither their possession of the Law, nor their descent from Abraham, nor the fact of their being circumcised, renders them just in the sight of God. Both the Gentile and the Jew, then, need the grace of God, ii-iv.

(*c*) The glories of this divine grace: it has given us much, and it has freed us from the servitude of sin, from the servitude of the Law, and from condemnation, v-viii.

(*d*) Of the origin of this grace: is it due to free election or to merits? An examination of the status of the Gentile and the Jew respectively, ix-xi.

B. Chaps. xii-xvi. *The doctrine of the Gospel in practice.*

Moral instruction as the outcome of the foregoing, *viz.*, how and when, by using this free gift of grace, we are to show charity to all, xii. 15-xv. 23.

Familiar and personal notes, xv. 24-xvi.

A Fuller Analysis of the Epistle.

A. I. 1-17. Introduction.

(*a*) i. 1-7. The Apostle's address to them: he strikes the keynote of the Epistle at once: *We have received grace and apostleship for obedience to the faith in all nations.*

(*b*) i. 8-15. His thanksgiving to God: that their *faith is spoken of in the whole world.* His prayers for them, and his longing desire to see them. This leads him to

(*c*) i. 16-17. The theme of the whole subsequent Epistle: *The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first and to the Greek.* Hence:

B. I. 18-XI. 36. The Dogmatic Portion of the Epistle.

I. i. 18-iv. 25. *The universal need of the Gospel.*

(*a*) i. 18-32. Those under the natural law need it: *Because that when they knew God, they have not glorified Him as God.*

(*b*) ii. 1-29. Those, too, who are under the Law of Moses need it, for *tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that worketh evil, to the Jew first and also to the Greek*

(*c*) iii. 1-8. Not that the Jews have not their advantages; for *the oracles of God were committed to them,* and the unbelief of some among them does not render the divinely pledged word of no effect.

(*d*) iii. 9-31. Yet neither does it follow that the Jews excel the Greeks: *For we have charged both Jews and Greeks that they are all under sin.* The Old Testament shows that the justice which is according to God is *by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe in Him. For there is no distinction, for all have sinned and fall short of the glory*

of God, being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. And through this faith we destroy not the Law, *but we establish the Law.*

(*e*) iv. 1-12. Nor in saying this do we derogate from the glory due to Abraham. For his circumcision, in which we glory, was but the seal of the faith which he had before he was circumcised.

(*f*) iv. 13-22. Nor was the promise made to him through the Law, but through the justice of faith.

(*g*) iv. 23-25. And the same applies to us as to Abraham, and on the same condition, *viz. If we believe in Him that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead.*

II. v-viii. *Of the life according to faith.*

(*a*) v. 1-21. An exhortation to embrace the life according to faith *through our Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom we have access through faith into this grace wherein we stand, and glory in the hope of the sons of God.* For the obedience of Christ has outweighed the disobedience of Adam.

(*b*) vi. 1-14. And let no one argue that, since grace abounded by reason of our sin which had abounded, it is therefore good to *continue in sin that grace may abound.* For Christ has delivered us from sin by His death, into which we are baptized.

(*c*) vi. 15-vii. 6. Neither let any argue that, since we are no longer under the Law but under grace, we may therefore continue to sin; for though Christ has delivered us from the Law of Moses, He has put us under His own Law—that of grace: *We are loosed from the law of death . . . that we may serve in newness of spirit.*

(*d*) vii. 7-25. Neither does it follow that the Law itself is sin; it is we who are sinful: *The Law is spiritual, but I am carnal.* The Apostle then describes the perpetual inward conflict between the flesh and the spirit, a conflict from which naught can deliver us save *the grace of God by Christ Jesus Our Lord.* This leads him to speak:

(*e*) viii. 1-30. *Of the life of grace, according to the indwelling of the Spirit of God.*

i. By the law of grace we walk *not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if the Spirit of Christ dwell in us,* viii. 1-11.

ii. And from this indwelling of the Spirit comes the adoption of sonship with all its promises, viii. 12-25.

iii. Whence, too, comes the inward assistance of the Holy Spirit, Who *asketh for us with unspeakable groanings,* viii. 26-30.

III. ix-xi. An answer to the tacit objection: *How, then, are we to explain the apparent rejection of the Chosen People?*

(*a*) ix. 1-6*a*. The Apostle expresses his grief for the Jews "according to the flesh"; for to them *belongeth the adoption of children,* the Glory, the Testament, the Giving of the Law, the Service of God, and the Promises. The Father is theirs; even Christ is theirs *according to the flesh.*

(*b*) ix. 6*b*-29. But mere birth *according to the flesh* confers no right to salvation, for

i. *All are not Israelites that are of Israel,* and it is *not the word of God that hath miscarried;* for of Abraham's seed the promise was but to

Isaac, and of Isaac's seed was it said: *Jacob I have loved, but Esau I have hated*, ix. 7-18.

ii. Neither does this mean that God is unjust; for He is free to show mercy to whom He will and justice to whom He will, as He said to Moses: *I will have mercy upon whom I will have mercy*, and as He said to Pharao: *I raised thee that I may show My power in thee*, ix. 14-18.

iii. Neither can we complain if He finds fault; for with Him is perfect liberty of choice, as the Prophets Osee and Isaias have insisted, ix. 19-29.

iv. In conclusion, then, the Gentiles, though not following after justice, *have attained to the justice of faith;* Israel, *by following after justice according to the Law, is not come unto the law of justice*, because they sought it *by works* and *not* by faith, ix. 30-33.

(*c*) x. 1-21. This last thought is developed:

i. *They have indeed a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge;* for, seeking to establish justice after their own ideals, they have missed the justice that is according to God, x. 1-3.

ii. For *the end of the Law is Christ to all that believe*, and this doctrine, that namely of justification by faith, was taught by Moses as well as by the Prophets, x. 4-13.

iii. Thus Joel had said: *Whosoever shall call upon Him shall be saved.* But to "call" demands faith, and faith demands "hearing," and "hearing" demands a preacher, and a preacher must be "sent"; yea, and all this Israel has had, for they have "heard" and they have "known," but they have not obeyed. Hence the conclusion—foretold indeed by the Prophets—that the Gentiles that sought Him not have found Him, while Israel has rejected Him, x. 14-21.

(*d*) xi. 1-32. But this rejection of Israel is not final; the Gentiles must not boast as though they were superior to Israel; for

i. God hath *not cast away His people*, namely the elect according to grace, though Israel has indeed been blinded, xi. 1-10.

ii. Their "stumbling" was but intended to provoke them to emulation of the Gentiles, who profited by it. Their fall and their loss have proved the world's gain; how much more, then, will their restoration prove the world's gain! For Israel is still the "firstfruits," still the "root," and the Gentiles will always remain the "wild olive" that has been ingrafted. Hence: *Blindness in part has happened in Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles should come in. . . . As concerning the Gospel, they are enemies for your sake . . . but as touching the election, they are most dear for the sake of the Fathers*, xi. 11-32.

iii. In presence of this mystery the Apostle breaks out into exclamations of wonderment at the incomprehensible ways of God: *Who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been His counsellor?* xi. 33-36.

C. XII.-XV. 13. The Moral Teaching of the Epistle.

I. xii-xiii. *Of the general principles of the Christian life.*

(*a*) xii. 1-2. The basis of Christian perfection: *Approve what is the perfect will of God.*

(*b*) xii. 3 21. Of unity, despite the diversity of gifts.

(*c*) xiii. 1-7. Of subjection to princes: *For they are God's ministers, serving unto this purpose.*

(*d*) xiii. 8-14. Of brotherly love, for the Judgement is at hand.

II. xiv-xv. 13. *Of certain particular points.*

(*a*) xiv. 1-23. Of individual liberty of conscience. The principle is laid down: *All that is not of faith* (*i.e.* of *conscience*) *is sin.*

(*b*) xv. 1-7. Yet the strong must bear with the infirmities of the weak: *The God of patience and of comfort grant you to be of one mind one towards another according to Jesus Christ;* hence

(*c*) xv. 8-12. Of the relative positions of the Jewish Christian and the Gentile Christian: the former can glory in Christ as a *minister of the circumcision;* the latter must *glorify God for His mercy.*

D. XV. 14-XVI. 27. The Personal Portion of the Epistle.

(*a*) xv. 14-22. The Apostle's own position; how and where he has preached: *Not upon another man's foundation;* and this serves to explain his reason for not coming to them before.

(*b*) xv. 23-33. His plans for the future: at present he is about to go to Jerusalem with alms from Macedonia, but later he will take his journey into Spain and will then visit them on his way.

(*c*) xvi. 1-2. He commends to them Phœbe, the bearer of this letter.

(*d*) xvi. 3-16*a*. Various salutations to members of the Church at Rome.

(*e*) xvi. 16*b*-20. Warnings against sundry dangers from heretics.

(*f*) xvi. 21-24. Salutations from those who are with him: from Timothy, and from Tertius who penned the Epistle.

(*g*) xvi. 25-27. Concluding doxology, with special reference to the *Mystery of Faith*, which has now in these days been made manifest.

C. The Authenticity and Canonicity of the Epistle.

The authenticity and canonicity of the Epistle have never been called in question. Thus, so early as about the year A.D. 98 we find St. Clement of Rome recalling Rom. i. 29-32, though he does not say that he is quoting St. Paul.[1] St. Ignatius, too, has a distinct reminiscence of Rom. i. 3-4.[2] Tatian also refers to the words "for the

[1] 1 *Cor.* xxxv. Πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀνομίαν, πλεονξίαν, ἔρεις, κακοηθείας τε καὶ δόλους, ψιθυρισμούς τε καὶ καταλαλιάς, θεοστυγίαν, ὑπερηφανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαζονείαν . . . οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ πράσσοντες ἀυτὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συνευδοκοῦντες ἀυτοῖς. *Cp.*, too, 1 *Cor.* x. and Rom. iv. 3, where the quotation from Gen. xv. 5-6 is given exactly as in *Romans* and with a slight change from the LXX. text. For further parallels see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans.*

[2] *Smyrneans* i., *cp.*, too, Polycarp *ad Philippenses* vi. and Rom. xiv. 10, 12, where Polycarp writes: πάντας δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι.

invisible things of Him . . . are clearly seen . . .," Rom. i. 20.[1] Marcion, *c.* A.D. 140, removed, as is well known, the closing chapters from the Epistle, thus making it end with xiv. 23. Origen is quite explicit on this, though he points out that in certain copies to which he had access the doxology, xvi. 25-27, occurs at the close of our present chap. xiv.[2] Now there is absolutely no MSS. authority for omitting these two chapters,[3] but the idea that they formed no part of the original Epistle has always had a certain vogue since Renan started the hypothesis that the salutations, *viz.* chap. xvi., really belonged to the *Epistle to the Ephesians*. His main argument was that St. Paul could not possibly have had so many acquaintances in Rome as these salutations imply. But this is a purely negative argument, and in view of all the circumstances there is no reason why he should not have had this large circle of acquaintances. Moreover, there is the obstinate fact that the names of Pudens[4] and Prisca or Priscilla[5] are indissolubly associated with two Roman Churches. While the earliest catacombs have furnished us with examples of all the names enshrined in chap. xvi., some of them being rare ones, this does not mean that we have the tombs of these very men and women, but it does show that Christians with such names did live in early Christian Rome.[6]

[1] *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, iv.

[2] *Lib.* X. 43 in *Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 1290. For Marcion's treatment of the Epistles see St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* I. xxvii. 2 and III. xii. 12.

[3] St. Jerome, it is true, says of this passage, "in plerisque codicibus invenitur," but he seems to have no doubt himself of its authenticity, on Eph. iii. 7, *P.L.* XXVI. 481; *cf. Expository Times*, April, 1916, and Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, p. 20, Bampton Lectures, 1913.

[4] 2 Tim. iv. 21.

[5] Rom. xvi. 3.

[6] See especially Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, *Introduction*, *International Critical Commentary*; Lightfoot, Appendix on *Cæsar's Household* in his *Commentary on Philippians*, also the *Essays* by Lightfoot and Hort on the *Epistle to the Romans* published in *Biblical Essays*, 1893. Edmundson, *The Church of Rome in the First Century*, Bampton Lectures, 1913.

D. The Background of the Epistle: to whom was it addressed?

The preliminary to any real understanding of this Epistle —as indeed of any other—is a clear grasp of the character of the Church to which it is addressed. This is not so simple an affair as it might appear. Such passages as iv. 1, 3, "Abraham our father," xiv on the niceties of the observance of the Law, xv. 7-12, the copious citations from the Old Testament, might lead us to think that it was penned for converts from Judaism. But then i. 5-6, 13, "as among other Gentiles," and especially xi. 13, "I say to you Gentiles," and xv. 15-16, "a minister among the Gentiles," would seem just as precisely to point to converts from heathenism as being addressed. Then, again, in xii. 3 he speaks expressly "to *all* that are among you." Does this mean to both parties—converts from both Judaism and heathenism?[1] It is clear that this question can only be solved by a combination of evidence intrinsic and extrinsic to the Epistle. The *Acts*, Josephus, and pagan writers such as Tacitus and Suetonius, help us to form an idea of the background of the Epistle. And it is incumbent on us to study this background if we would answer the question how St. Paul came to write this Epistle.

i. The Jews in Rome. — Jewish residents in Rome had long played a considerable part in the life of the city. In Maccabean times a species of federation had been established between Jerusalem and Rome;[2] towards the close of that period Pompey had led captive to Rome some of the royal family, and doubtless many others in their train.[3] These latter apparently returned to Palestine after obtaining their freedom, and took their place among those known as the "Libertini" or "freedmen" of Acts vi. 9. The fact that no fewer than 8,000 Jews of Rome supported the impeachment of Archelaus[4] affords striking proof of their numbers and influence as early as A.D. 6. Josephus tells us

[1] See Origen, *Lib.* VIII. 10, X. 8 and 11, *in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 1187, 1264, 1267.
[2] 1 Macc. viii. 17-32, xii. 1-4, 16, xiv. 24, xv. 15-24.
[3] *Ant.* XIV. iv. 5; *Wars*, I. vii. 4.
[4] *Ant.* XVII. xi. 2; *Wars*, II vi. 1.

that Claudius treated the Jews in his dominions very favourably, since he enacted decrees in favour of those at Alexandria and Jerusalem,[1] but we also learn from Suetonius[2] as well as from St. Luke[3] that Claudius was compelled to drive them out of Rome owing to their turbulence.

ii. **Early Christians in Rome.**—This expulsion of the Jews by Claudius is distinctly referred by Suetonius to riots arising from the presence of Christians in the Eternal City; no other interpretation of the well-known words "Judæos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes, expulit" is possible. The spelling Chresto is quite natural in the mouth of a Roman who would naturally connect it with the Greek Χρηστός; thus we find Tertullian actually telling the Romans that they did not know that the name "Christ" was derived from "unction," and not from "benignus."[4] That the "strangers of Rome" who were present at the first Pentecost would have carried home with them a vivid recollection of the scenes they had witnessed goes without saying, and it may well be that many of them were converted to the faith and thus formed the nucleus of the later Roman Church.[5] At the same time we are not to suppose that the Church in that city was entirely or even in great part composed of converts from Judaism; the whole tenor of St. Paul's Epistle to them runs counter to this view, while it is a legitimate inference from Acts xxviii. 14-15 that these Christians did not pass "through the synagogue."

Nor is it sufficient to say that St. Paul has in view simply a collection of converts, whether from Judaism or from heathenism. For the Jewish Christians fell into two distinct classes: those who had tacitly discarded their Jewish

[1] *Ant.* XIX. v. 3, XX. i. 2.

[2] *Claudius*, xxv.

[3] Acts xviii. 2.

[4] *Apologeticus*, iii. "Cum perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur a vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos) de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est." That "Chrestus" was a Christian name is evident from Eusebius, who mentions a Bishop of Syracuse of that name, *H.E.* X. v. 21, *cp.* Lactantius.

[5] The *Clementine Recognitions* have preserved the extraordinary statement that during Christ's life on earth Barnabas actually preached on Him and His work and the conditions for salvation at Rome! (I. vi-vii.); *cp.* St. Thomas, *Prologue* to his *Commentary on the Epistles*, *ed.* Liège, Vol. I., p. 8.

sympathies on their entrance into the fold, and those who, while accepting Jesus as the Messias, were yet loath to surrender the peculiar privileges of Judaism, and who therefore insisted on the lasting pre-eminence of the "Chosen People." These — known as "Judaizers" — were the Apostle's enemies who played so important a part in the summoning of the Council of Jerusalem, and who had succeeded, at least for a time, in perverting the Galatian converts. Nor, again, is the Apostle's view limited to those already in the fold. He has in mind the enormous mass of Jews who—as Acts xxviii shows us—persisted in ignoring the claims of Christianity; he further has in mind the unregenerate heathen as yet unaffected by the new religion. Hence the constant change of persons who are addressed, a change which—as Origen complained—is so baffling to the superficial reader. The Apostle speaks to the Church in general, i. 1-16; to the heathen, i. 17-ii. 16; to the Jew who prided himself on his ancestry, ii. 17-iv. 25; to "them that know the Law," vii. 1 *ff.*; to unbelieving Israel, ix. 1 *ff.*; to the Gentiles, xi. 13 *ff.*

iii. They were, then, a "mixed" congregation drawn in part from the Jewish residents, in part from the heathen. This fact enables us to answer the oft-repeated question: What led St. Paul to write to the Romans at all? That the Church at Rome was no foundation of St. Paul's is evident from his whole history as given in *Acts,* as well as from various passages in this very Epistle wherein he shows that it is not the presence of difficulties in their midst which has led him to write to them, as was the case with the Thessalonians, the Corinthians, and the Galatians; on the contrary, the faith of the Romans was well known,[1] as also their charity and their knowledge;[2] moreover, they were "another man's foundation."[3] He writes, therefore, merely to prepare the way for the visit he hopes to pay at no distant date;[4] and this visit itself is to be but a "passing" one; it is not even meant for their "confirmation" in the faith, but "that I may be comforted together in you by that which is common to us both,

[1] Rom. i. 8.
[2] xv. 14.
[3] xv. 20.
[4] i. 13-15, xv. 24, 28.

your faith and mine.[1] As converts, whether from Judaism or from heathenism, they had a claim upon him. For as converts from Judaism they had gone through the same experience as he had done and had felt the same difficulties; as converts from heathenism they might be called his peculiar portion, the "gospel of the uncircumcision."[2] Moreover, and this is the most important point of all, many of them were already personally known to Paul, as is evident from the terms in which he addresses individuals in his "salutations" at the close.

We may endeavour, then, to reconstruct the events which led to the composition of this Epistle somewhat as follows: St. Paul had long known of the Roman Church, for the faith and obedience of its members were spoken of everywhere,[3] and he would be quick to realize the importance of such a Church geographically and politically. During his stay at Corinth he had lived with Aquila and Priscilla who had been expelled from Rome by Claudius.[4] On leaving Corinth he went with the same Aquila and Priscilla to Ephesus,[5] and was lodging with them when he wrote thence to the Corinthians.[6] From these apostolic people he would learn much about the Roman Church. Nor should it be forgotten that Corinth stood on the highway from East to West. Few have any idea of the amount of travelling which was done in those days; a study of the movements of Aquila and Priscilla as referred to in the New Testament would prove instructive in this respect. Among these travellers would be many who had listened to the Apostle, as well as many of his personal friends. All this caused his thoughts to turn to the great Church of the West; when, then, he found that his work in the East was done[7] and that the West was calling him, he planned to preach in Spain[8] and to visit Rome in passing. But with what kind of reception would he meet? He stood for a great doctrine: justification by faith as opposed to carnal descent from Abraham. This had brought him into disrepute and had made him "anathema" to many. His

[1] i. 12
[2] Gal. ii. 7
[3] Rom. i. 8, xv. 14.
[4] Acts xviii. 2.
[5] *Ibid.* xviii. 18-19.
[6] 1 Cor. xvi. 19.
[7] Rom. xv. 23.
[8] *Ibid.* xv. 24, 28.

doctrine had apparently been discussed, and of course misrepresented, at Rome as elsewhere.[1] Hence he decided to prepare the way for his visit by sending them a treatise on what he regarded as the fundamental doctrines of *Justification by Faith* and *Predestination*. These facts explain the distinctly "apologetic" tone of the Letter. He had not founded their Church; many among them were opposed to him; they had no need of his assistance or guidance.[2] At the same time he is an Apostle in a very special sense, and he must needs fulfil his ministry.[3] Thus the *Epistle to the Romans* was meant to prepare the way for the Apostle's visit; that it did not altogether succeed in removing opposition is clear from Phil. i. 15, which was written from Rome; for there we find the Apostle still confronted by "some who speak the word of God out of envy and contention," while the attitude of the orthodox Jew at Rome could not be more forcibly portrayed than in Acts xxviii. 17-29.

iv. An appreciation of the facts just given will enable us to understand the peculiar character of the Epistle. For it is "peculiar" in that it is a theological treatise only comparable in this respect with the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. Yet this treatise is cast in the form of a Letter. Why did the Apostle treat of these particular subjects, *viz.* of *Justification by Faith* and of *Predestination*, and why in this precise form? The subjects discussed in the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, in those to the *Thessalonians* and *Galatians*, were decided for him by the questions those Churches had put to him, or by difficulties which he had learnt were rife amongst them. But we know nothing of any Letter from the Romans to the Apostle, neither do we know that they had particular difficulties about the doctrine of predestination. Yet this question —always a burning one—must have been ever present in a "mixed" congregation made up of those who had been wont to call themselves exclusively "the Chosen People" and those who had been "grafted in." Apart, too, from its actuality, the question had to be treated sooner or later; the Apostle, who combined in his own person Jewish prejudice, Hellenic culture, and Roman liberalism, was the

[1] Rom. iii. 8, 31, *cf.* vi. 1.
[2] *Ibid.* i. 8-15, xi. 1, xv. 14-16, 20, 32.
[3] *Ibid.* i. 13-16, ii. 16, xi. 13, xv. 18-19.

fitting instrument for the work. He could hardly have had a stronger confirmation of the necessity of such teaching than that afforded him in the interview between himself and his Jewish auditors in his Roman prison.[1]

v. The theme of the Epistle, then, can hardly be better expressed than in the Apostle's own words towards the close: *Christ Jesus was minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the Fathers. But the Gentiles are to glorify God for His mercy*, xv. 8-9. Or, as St. Augustine expresses it:

"The question he sets out to answer is: Whether the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ came to the Jews alone by reason of merits arising from the works of the Law, or whether, without any preceding merits arising from works, justification by faith which is in Christ Jesus came to all the Gentiles, so that men did not believe because they were just, but, being justified by believing, they thenceforth began to lead just lives?"[2]

The same question forms the theme of the *Epistle to the Galatians*, but with this difference that, as St. Jerome puts it, in the latter he blames and corrects, in the former he teaches; in the former he uses profound arguments, in the latter he rather appeals to authority;[3] he writes to the Romans to convince them that neither Jews nor Gentiles are to insist upon their privileges, upon "circumcision" or "uncircumcision," but to the Galatians to show them that they have no choice, they never have belonged to the "circumcision"; to embrace it, then, is tantamount to apostasy in their case.[4]

For the relation between the doctrine set forth in the *Epistle of St. James* see the *Introduction* to that *Epistle*. That St. Peter betrays an acquaintance with St. Paul's Epistle written to the Romans, and also with at least one of those written by him from Rome, *viz. Ephesians*, seems beyond doubt. The following parallels should be worked out, of course in the Greek text: Rom. ix. 25 and 1 Pet. ii. 10; Rom. ix. 32-33 and 1 Pet. ii. 6-8. In this latter passage it should be especially noted that the same quotation from the LXX occurs both in St. Peter and St. Paul and with the same variants; *cp.*, too,

[1] Acts xxviii. 17-29.

[2] *Inchoata Expositio Epistolæ ad Romanos*, i., *P.L.* XXXV. 2087.

[3] *Prologus in Comment. in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.L.* XXVI. 309.

[4] See St. Jerome on Gal. v. 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 395, and St. Augustine, *Præf. in Exposit. in Ep. ad Galatas*, *P.L.* XXXV. 2107.

Rom. xii. 1 and 1 Pet. ii. 5; Rom. xii. 2 and 1 Pet. i. 14.[1] As regards the similarity existing between 1 *Peter* and *Ephesians*, it is rather that of thought and structure than of actual words; St. Peter would seem to have assimilated St. Paul's thought and expressed it in his own words, *cp.* Eph. i. 3, 12, 13, 18, and 1 Pet. i. 3-12. Some twenty parallels between 1 Pet. i-iii. and *Ephesians* can be established without difficulty from a *Variorum* Bible.[2]

Nor should we lose sight of the fact that the same parallelism is to be discovered between *Romans* and 2 *Peter;* thus *cp.* Rom. i. 12 and 2 Pet. i. 1; ii. 4 and 2 Pet. iii. 15; vi. 16 and 2 Pet. ii. 19; viii. 21 and 2 Pet. ii. 19; xi. 21 and 2 Pet. ii. 5. This proves nothing, of course, for the authenticity of 2 *Peter*, but it shows us how well known the *Epistle to the Romans* was to those who wrote from Rome. The same feature emerges from a study of *Hebrews* and *Romans*.

One interesting feature in *Romans* is the appeal St. Paul tacitly makes to the *Book of Wisdom;* thus *cp.* Rom. ix. 21-23 and Wisd. xii. 12 and xv. 7; i. 20 and Wisd. xiii. 1; ii. 4 and Wisd. xi. 23; the Jews of the Dispersion as well as converts from heathenism would be well acquainted with the Greek Bible and its peculiar books.[3]

When, then, it is asked: Why did St. Paul write to the Romans at all? the answer must be (*a*) Because that Church numbered among its members many who were converts of his own; (*b*) many, too, who, though not converts of his, were yet well known to him, *e.g.* Aquila and Priscilla:[4] (*c*) because he realized the immense importance, even humanly speaking, of this Church; (*d*) because, while fully realizing that this Church was already famous and flourishing, and consequently needing nothing from him, he was yet in a position to strengthen it in the faith.[5]

E. Where and When was the Epistle written?

(*a*) 1 Cor. xvi. shows us the Apostle inaugurating the collection of alms for the poor at Jerusalem, *cp.* 2 Cor. viii-ix. (*b*) That the visit to Corinth promised in Acts xix. 21, 1 Cor. xvi. 5, 2 Cor. i. 15-17, ii. 1, xii. 14, xiii. 1, has been carried out is shown by Acts xx. 2-3. (*c*) The last stage of

[1] See the parallels worked out in Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. lxxiv; note, too, the parallels drawn out by Origen between Rom. iii. 12 and 1 Pet. ii. 22, and Rom. vii. 14 and 1 Pet. i. 18, *Lib.* III. 3 and 7 in *Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 935 and 945; *cp.* Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 396.

[2] See Westcott, *Ephesians*, p. liv.

[3] See Charles, *Apocrypha*, I. 526-527.

[4] Rom. xvi. 3.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 8-14, xv. 20-22.

this journey is described in Acts xxiv. 17, where we find the collection of alms completed. (*d*) Rom. xv. 25-28 shows us the Apostle on his way to Jerusalem with this same collection. All these points, then, indicate Corinth, where he stayed three months, Acts xx. 3, as the place whence our Epistle was written. And this is confirmed by the intrinsic evidence of the Epistle. For (*a*) its bearer was Phœbe of Cenchre, the port of Corinth, Rom. xvi. 1. (*b*) Caius was his host, xvi. 23, and Paul baptized a Caius at Corinth, 1 Cor. i. 14. (*c*) Timothy and Sosipater, who salute the Romans, xvi. 21, were with him at Corinth, Acts xx. 4. (*d*) Erastus is called "the treasurer of the city," xvi. 23, and 2 Tim. iv. 20 shows us that this city was presumably Corinth. The Epistle, then, must have been written on the last stage of the third missionary journey, when the Apostle was resting at Corinth before going on to Jerusalem, where he was arrested about Pentecost, A.D 55,[1] Acts xx. 17.

F. St. Peter and St. Paul and the Church at Rome.

The fact, however, that St. Paul did think fit to write to the Roman Church, and that when so doing he did not so much as mention St. Peter, has been so constantly urged[2] as a proof that St. Peter either never came to Rome at all or that, at any rate, he was in no sense founder of the Church there, that it may be as well to set forth the facts on this point as clearly as possible.

Now, it is nowhere explicitly stated in the New Testament that St. Peter ever went to Rome; but tradition on this point is unshakable, and in its light certain passages of the New Testament seem to confirm it. Thus, it is possible

[1] See *s.v. Chronology of the Apostolic Age, infra.* Edmundson, *l.c.*, p. 82, would assign it to the spring of A.D. 57.

[2] Thus, even so cautious a writer as Dr. Hort calmly states that "the whole story of St. Peter's early connection with Rome is a manifest error or fiction; and all that we know on good authority respecting the early spread of the Gospel is adverse to the belief that the Roman Church was founded by any Apostle or envoy of the Apostles; nor is it likely that had such been the case there would have been no trace of it in the Epistle itself." *Prolegomena to St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians*, p. 8, 1895.

that when St. Luke merely states, Acts xii. 17, that Peter "went into another place" after his miraculous release from prison, he is referring to Rome. And when we remember that Luke was writing for a Roman we can understand his reticence as to the precise place whither Peter went: his readers would know. Moreover, there was no necessity for informing the world at large as to the whereabouts of the prince of the Apostles and the Head of the Church on earth; indeed, if *Acts* was compiled at Rome itself, as is most probable, there would be still less need for precision. An attentive study of the *Epistle to the Romans* will show that (*a*) St. Paul regards the Roman Church as flourishing and as having evidently been founded by some notable person, *e.g.* i. 8-12, xv. 14, 20-22; (*b*) as standing in no need of instruction, but solely of confirmation, *e.g.* i. 8, xv. 14-16; for this reason he only proposes "to pass by," xv. 24, 28. The Epistle does not show us who this notable founder was, but when St. Peter himself, 1 Pet., v. 13, says that he writes from *Babylon*, which we are compelled to understand as Rome;[1] when, again, we find a remarkable resemblance between Rom. xii-xiii. and 1 *Peter*, and also between 1 *Peter* and *Ephesians*,[2] we can well believe that St. Peter had read both the Epistle sent to Rome as well as one at least of those written by St. Paul from the Eternal City. So much for the testimony of the New Testament. Further, tradition on the point is singularly explicit and well defined. St. Clement of Rome writes to the Corinthians, 1 *Cor. v-vi*, "Let us take the noble examples of our own days. Through jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous columns[3] were persecuted and came to death"; he then goes on to speak of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. Of the latter he expressly says that "he came to the West and underwent martyrdom at the hands of the Prefects." And he concludes: "To these men who lived so holily there was gathered a great crowd of the elect who through envy suffered many punishments and tortures, and thus became a most fair example in our midst." St. Clement does not mention Rome as the seat of their martyrdom, but he is

[1] See under *Epistles of St. Peter.*
[2] See above and *Introduction* to 1 *Peter.*
[3] Στύλοι, a clear reference to Gal. ii. 9.

writing from Rome and is speaking of the example given to the Romans by Peter and Paul. That the Corinthian Church so understood him we learn from Denis of Corinth, who in A.D. 171 wrote to Pope Soter,[1] saying, "You have thus bound together the planting of Peter and of Paul at Rome and at Corinth. For both of them planted and also taught in our Corinth. And they taught together in like manner in Italy, and suffered martyrdom at the same time."[2] St. Ignatius' testimony is to the same effect; he writes to the Romans:[3] "I do not command you, as did Peter and Paul." Again, that St. Mark was St. Peter's amanuensis at Rome is indubitable.[4] And the tradition grows in clearness and precision; thus, Tertullian tells us of Peter's death at Rome under Nero;[5] Origen expressly tells us how he was at his own request crucified with his head downwards.[6] Lastly, archæological evidence fully substantiates the written tradition; pictures of St. Peter are well known to Roman archæologists, for they are found in the earliest catacombs.[7]

But while the tradition of St. Peter's coming to Rome is thus maintained, it is by no means necessary to suppose that he was the first to preach Christianity there. The salutations at the end of the *Epistle to the Romans* show that many of the Roman Christians were well known to Paul, some were even his converts, *e.g.* Epenetus.[8] But especially noteworthy are Andronicus and Junias, who are termed "my kinsmen and fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the Apostles, who also were before me in the Lord."[9] It is possible that these were numbered among those Romans who were present at the first Christian Pentecost.[10] At any rate, the whole tone of these lists of salutations shows us hat the Christians of Rome were no strangers to St. Paul when he indited his Epistle to them. Nor is tradition silent

[1] *H.E.* IV. xxiii. 9. [2] *H.E.* II. xxv. 8. [3] *Rom.* iv.

[4] See under *Gospel of St. Mark*.

[5] *Scorpiace*, XV, where, too, Tertullian refers to the Roman archives for confirmation; *De Baptismo*, IV.

[6] Origen, *Tom.* III. *in Genesim, ap.* Euseb., *H.E.* III. i.

[7] See Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, pp. 20 and 42, the Bampton Lectures for 1913.

[8] Rom. xvi. 5.

[9] *Ibid.* xvi. 7. [10] Acts ii. 10.

as to the time St. Peter came to Rome. Eusebius in his *Chronicle*, as translated for us by St. Jerome, has, under the second year of Claudius, *i.e.* A.D. 42, the heading: "Peter the Apostle, by nationality a Galilean, the first Pontiff of the Christians, having first established the Church of Antioch, goes to Rome, where he remains for twenty-five years preaching the Gospel, and Bishop of that city."[1]

A difficulty arises, however, from the tradition that the Apostles were bidden to remain in Jerusalem for twelve years after the Ascension. If this tradition holds, it seems impossible to find place for an Antiochian Episcopate of St. Peter previous to A.D. 42, *i.e.* the second year of Claudius. It must, however, be confessed that the tradition is a vague one. Eusebius gives it on the authority of Apollonius, "an ecclesiastical writer" of apparently the early portion of the third century; but Eusebius uses a guarded expression: "He (Apollonius) speaks, moreover, of a tradition that the Saviour commanded His Apostles not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years."[2] It is possible that Clement of Alexandria has preserved the same tradition for us in a quotation from the *Preaching of Peter*, "After twelve years go forth into the world"; but some editors put a full stop after "twelve years," thus making it a part of the previous sentence.[3] It is clear, however, that if this command was given it admitted of very wide interpretation, *cf.* Acts viii., where Peter and John go down to Samaria. A further difficulty arises from the opening words of 1 *Peter*, which St. Jerome certainly understands to mean that St. Peter had actually evangelized those portions of Asia Minor there mentioned.[4]

It was necessary to enter into these details because of certain difficulties presented in the *Epistle to the Romans*. For it has been urged that (*a*) St. Paul's silence about

[1] *Interpr. Chronicæ Eusebii*, *P.L.* XXVII. 578. St. Jerome has the same statement about Peter coming to Rome in the second year of Claudius, and residing there twenty-five years, *cf.* his *De Viris Illustribus*, I., *P.L.* XXIII. 638, but he adds that he remained there till "the last year of Nero, that is, the fourteenth. By Nero he was crowned with martyrdom, being fastened to the cross with his head downwards." Thus St. Jerome would make St. Peter come to Rome in A.D. 42, and die there A.D. 67.

[2] *H.E.* V. xviii. 1, 13. [3] *Strom.* VI. 5. [4] *Viris Illustr.* I.

St. Peter, both in the Epistle he addressed to the Romans and in those he wrote from Rome during his first and second captivity there, show that St. Peter cannot have been there at the time. (*b*) That had Peter been there, the *Epistle to the Romans* could hardly have been written at all.[1] (*c*) That if Peter had preached much at Rome, it is inconceivable that the Jews of Rome could have shown themselves so ignorant of Christianity as they professed to be.[2]

But, as already pointed out, the whole tone of *Romans* indicates that (*a*) the Roman Church was founded by some notable person; (*b*) that the foundation of the Church at Antioch by St. Peter, as well as his missionary work in Asia Minor—if the opening words of 1 *Peter* justify the conclusion that he had actually worked there—demand a great deal of moving about on St. Peter's part. (*c*) The same must be said of his stay at Corinth, witnessed to by 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 22, ix. 5, and by Denis, see above. (*d*) The Edict of Claudius, whereby the Jews were expelled, would not affect the Gentile-born Christians, but would have had the result of dislocating the purely Jewish world at Rome. Hence we can understand the ignorance of the Jews regarding Christianity—unless, indeed, it was assumed. It has been urged that when St. Paul declares, Rom. xv. 20-23, that he had often been hindered in his desire to come to Rome because he was unwilling to build upon another man's foundation, he is referring to St. Peter's presence there, and was only waiting till he should be absent. But this seems idle. St. Paul merely means that as long as there was original work for him to do in the East he did not feel justified in coming to the West.

The Roman Church, then, we may well believe, was founded by early converts, was established by St. Peter, built up and consolidated by St. Paul, and fructified by both Apostles, especially by their glorious martyrdom there.

[1] *Cf.* St. Thomas, *Lectio* iii. *in cap. XV. Ep. ad Rom.*, *ed.* Liège, Vol. I, p. 280.

[2] Acts xxviii. 21-22.

G. The Vocabulary of the Epistle.

The profound theological teaching of the Epistle necessarily involves the use of many terms which have passed into the theologian's armoury, and which, whether derived from the Greek translations of the Bible or from classical usage, have taken on a peculiar Christian significance. Thus we note ἁμαρτάνω and ἁμαρτία, etc.,[1] ἀπάρχη[2] δίκαιος with its derivatives,[3] ἐγκεντρίζω[4] λεῖμμα,[5] λογίζομαι[6] παράπτωμα,[7] πταίω,[8] ὑστερέω,[9] and χαρίζομαι.[10] We also have unusual terms such as ἀναλογία,[11] ἀνοχή,[12] and ἀποτομία ;[13] also some peculiarly Pauline compound forms such as

[1] The noun occurs 46 times in *Romans*, and a remarkable affinity between St. John's *Gospel* (15), his first *Epistle* (15), the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (23), and *Romans* is furnished by their preponderant use of this word.

[2] XI. 16, quite a classical word in the sense of "firstfruits," and, of course, much used in LXX; see Rom. viii. 23, xi. 16, xvi. 5, 1 Cor. xv. 20, 23, xvi. 15, Jas. i. 18, Apoc. xiv. 4, where the Vulgate renders it by *primitiæ*, *primitivum*, *delibatio* and *initium*.

[3] Thus note the forms δικαιόω, δικαιοσύνη, δικαίωμα, and δικαίωσις.

[4] XI. 17, etc., the noun ἐγκέντρισις is used by Aristotle of "grafting"; the verb only occurs in LXX in Wisd. xvi. 11 in the sense of "goad," as in Jer. xlvi. 20, where Aquila and Symmachus have this word instead of the LXX ἀπόπασμα.

[5] XI. 5; LXX, 4 Kings xix. 4 only, but Symmachus and Theodotion employ it in the parallel Isa. xxxvii. 4.

[6] A classical form and frequent in LXX.

[7] This is a word which St. Paul has made almost peculiarly his own, for he uses it some fourteen times, and it only occurs else in Matt. vi. 14-15, and the parallel, Mark xi. 25-26, and in Jas. v. 16. In the Apostle's writings it is always with one exception—Eph. i. 7, "peccata" —rendered by "delictum," *cp.* Eph. ii. 1, τοῖς παραπτώμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις, "delictis et peccatis." The word does not apparently occur in classical Greek before Polybius, but it is of fairly frequent occurrence in LXX of Ezechiel.

[8] XI. 11, quite classical in the sense of "stumbling," so in N.T., where the Vulgate renders it "offendere," except in 2 Pet. i. 10, "peccabitis."

[9] Rom. iii. 23, etc. Note the forms ὑστέρημα and ὑστέρησις, which, however, nearly always signify physical lack rather than the moral falling short of Rom. iii. 23.

[10] A peculiarly Lukan and Pauline word, as it occurs three times in St. Luke's *Gospel*, four times in *Acts*, and sixteen times in St. Paul's *Epistles*.

[11] XII. 6, found in Plato and Aristotle, but in LXX only in Lev. xxvii. 18, where *Cod. Alexandrinus* has it instead of συντιμήσεως.

[12] II. 4, iii. 26; in LXX only in 1 Macc. xii. 25, where the Douay version has "he gave them no *time* to enter their own country."

[13] XI. 22, a very rare word found in Diodorus and in Symmachus version of Jer. li. 35 and Nah. iii. 1.

προαιτιάομαι,[1] προγράφω,[2] συναντιλαμβάνομαι,[3] συναπάγω,[4] συνωδίνω,[5] and συστενάζω.[6]

H. Theological Teaching of the Epistle.

God and the Father, His Divinity, i. 20; His incorruptibility, i. 23; His eternal power, i. 20, ix. 22; the Creator, i. 25, xi. 36; is blessed for ever, i. 25; our Father, i. 7; predestined His Son, i. 4; made Him a propitiation for us, iii. 25; sent His Son, viii. 3; raised Him from the dead, vi. 4, viii. 11, x. 9; spared not His Son, viii. 32; Who now sits at His right hand, viii. 34; He promised the Gospel by His Prophets, i. 2; the "Gospel of God," i. 1, 9, 16, xv. 16; His "words," iii. 2, ix. 6; the will of God, i. 10, xii. 2, xv. 32; the truth of God, i. 18, 25, iii. 4, vi. 7, xv. 8; the wisdom of God, xi. 33; the "only wise," xvi. 27; the goodness of God, ii. 4, xi. 22; His gifts, xii. 3; are without repentance, xi. 29; His patience, ii. 4, ix. 22; His forbearance, iii. 26; He is the God of patience and comfort, xv. 5; is long-suffering, ii. 4; His benignity, ii. 4; has no respect of persons, ii. 11; takes away sins, xi. 27; will crush Satan, xvi. 20; has condemned sin in the flesh of His Son, viii. 3; His justice, iii. 5, 21, 22, ix. 14-23, x. 3; is God of all, iii. 29; the purpose of His grace, iv. 5, ix. 11; His promise, iv. 20; He is able to perform it, iv. 21; His grace, v. 15, vi. 23, vii. 25, xv. 15; His charity, v. 5; He commends the charity of Christ, v. 8; is the God of hope, xv. 13; of peace, xv. 33, xvi. 20; His kingdom, xiv. 17; He justifies them that do the Law, ii. 13, 23, 29, iii. 6; He justifies us, viii. 33; by faith, iii. 24-30, iv. 1-25, ix. 30, 32, x. 3-21, xi. 30-32; the "faith of God," iii. 3; He takes believers to Himself, xiv. 3; and can make them stand, xiv. 4; we must be reconciled to Him, v. 10; He will quicken us, viii. 11; the elect of God, viii. 33, ix. 11, xi. 4-5; His foreknowledge of His elect, xi. 2; the Jews make their boast of God, ii. 17; He did not spare them, xi. 21; He can re-ingraft them, xi. 23; has not cast them away finally, xi. 1-2; His severity towards them, xi. 22; He hardens whom He will, xi. 7-10, 25; His wrath, ix. 22; His mercy, ix. 15-18, 23, xii. 1; there is no reply to be made to His actions, ix. 20, xi. 33-35; His judgements, ii. 2-9, 16, xi. 33; we have to give an account to Him, xiv. 12; sinners are hateful to Him, i. 30; they have fallen short of His glory, iii. 23; the wisdom of the flesh is an enemy to Him, viii. 7-8;

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[1] III. 9, apparently found nowhere else.

[2] XV. 4, a classical word, though not in the sense of "forewritten"; in the LXX of Daniel we have προσγεγραμμένοι instead of the ἄρχοντες of Theodotion; in 1 Macc. x. 36 it occurs with the sense of "enrolment."

[3] VIII. 25, Luke x. 40, several times in LXX with the meaning of "assisting in supporting."

[4] XII. 16, Gal. ii. 13, 2 Pet. iii. 17; but rare elsewhere; it occurs in LXX Exod. xiv. 6.

[5] VIII. 2, in Euripides and Aristotle, but not in LXX.

[6] VIII. 2, once in Euripides, nowhere in LXX

He gave them up to a reprobate sense, i. 24, 26, 28; fear of God, iii. 18; belief in Him, iv. 24; divine sonship of men, v. 2, viii. 14-23, ix. 8; peace with Him, v. 1; glory in Him, v. 11; we must seek Him, iii. 11; must be subject to Him, iii. 19; love for Him, viii. 28, 39; we live to Him, vi. 11, 13; our members must be instruments of justice to Him, vi. 13; must produce fruit to Him, vii. 4; our bodies must be a living sacrifice to Him, xii. 1; we must provide good in His sight, xii. 7, xiv. 22; must have a true zeal for Him, x. 2; must glorify Him, iv. 20, xv. 6-9, 17, xvi. 27; must serve Him, i. 9, vi. 22; we owe Him thanks, i. 8, 21, vi. 17, xiv. 6; prayer to Him, x. 3, xv. 30; must be pleasing to Him, xiv. 18; all power is from Him, xiii. 1-2; princes are His ministers, xii. 4-6; His law as opposed to the "law" in our members, vii. 22, 25, viii. 7; He is with us, viii. 31; some blaspheme His name, ii. 24.

The *Christology*, Christ is the Son, i. 3, 4, 9, v. 10, viii. 3, 29, 32; the Gospel of His Son, i. 9, *cp.* xv. 6; He is "God, blessed for ever," ix. 5; was predestined by the Father, i. 4; is the second Adam, v. 15; was man, v. 15, viii. 3, ix. 5; we are justified by faith in Him, iii. 22, 25, 26, iv. 24-25, v. 16-21, x. 4-21; He is the end of the Law, x. 4; He is the Christ, v. 6, 9, viii. 9, 17, ix. 1, 3, 5, x. 4, 17, xiv. 10, 15, 18, xv. 3, 7, 19, 20; is "Jesus," viii. 10; is "Jesus Christ," i. 1, 6, 8, ii. 16, iii. 22, 24, v. 15, 17, vi. 3, viii. 9, 34, ix. 9, xv. 5, 8, 16, 17, xvi. 3; is "the Lord Jesus Christ," i. 4, iv. 24, v. 1, 11, 21, vi. 23, viii. 39, xiii. 14, xv. 6, 30; is the "Lord Jesus," xiv. 14; is Lord of all, x. 12, xiv. 8-10; is over all, ix. 5; Lord of the living and the dead, xiv. 9; of the seed of David, i. 3; is of the Jews "according to the flesh," ix. 5; we are redeemed through Him, iii. 24, 25; He is our propitiation, iii. 25; through faith in His Blood, iii. 25, v. 9; He came in the likeness of sin, viii. 3; through Him is the remission of sins, iii. 25, iv. 25; He delivered us from our sins, iv. 25, viii. 32; died for the ungodly, v. 6, 9, 10, viii. 34, xiv. 15; we are saved from wrath through Him, v. 9; is a minister of the circumcision, xv. 8; did not please Himself, xv. 3; His obedience, v. 19; God spared not His Son, viii. 32; the love of God which is in Him, viii. 39; He loved us, viii. 37; nought shall separate us from His love, viii. 35; we have peace through Him, v. 1; and access to grace, v. 2; we glory in God through Him, v. 11; He rose from the dead, i. 4, iv. 24, vi. 4, 9, vii. 4, viii. 11, 34, ix. 9; rose by the glory of the Father, vi. 4, viii. 11, ix. 9; shall die no more, vi. 9-10; we shall be judged by Him, ii. 16, xiv. 10; He is at the right hand of the Father, viii. 34; where He intercedes for us, viii. 34; Paul is His servant, i. 1, xv. 16; is an Apostle through Christ, i. 5; for His name's sake, i. 5; he glories in Him, xv. 17; he has replenished the Gospel of Christ, xv. 19, 29; he gives thanks through Him, i. 8; we are baptized into Christ, into His death, vi. 3-6, 8, 11; are dead to the Law by Christ, vii. 4; we shall rise with Him, vi. 5; and shall live with Him, vi. 8, 23; there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ, viii. 1; the law of the spirit of life in Christ, viii. 2; we are co-heirs with Christ, viii. 17; we must suffer with Him if we would be glorified with Him, viii. 17; we are to be made conformable to the image of the Son of God, viii. 29; with His Son God has given us all, viii. 32; Paul would, for the sake of his brethren, be anathema from

Christ, ix. 3; the grace of Christ, v. 17, 21, vi. 11, vii. 25; the spirit of Christ, viii. 9; Christ is in us, viii. 10; we are in Him, viii. 1-2, xvi. 7-13; we are one body in Him, xii. 5; we must put on Christ, xiii. 14; we are His, xiv. 8; we must have one mind according to Christ, xv. 5; Christ has received us, xv. 7; Paul speaks the truth in Christ, ix. 1.

The *Holy Spirit*, is the Spirit of God, viii. 9, 11, 14; and of Christ, viii. 9; of sanctification, i. 4; is given to us, v. 4, viii. 9, 11; we must be led by Him, viii. 14; we are the firstfruits of the Spirit, viii. 23; by the Spirit we become the sons of God, v. 4; He testifies to our spirit, viii. 13; He helps us, viii. 26; asks for us, viii. 26-27; Paul's conscience witnesses to him in the Holy Spirit, ix. 1; joy in the Spirit, xiv. 17; in the power of the Spirit, xv. 13; Paul beseeches them by the charity of the Holy Spirit, xv. 30; the oblations of the Gentiles are to be sanctified by the Spirit, xv. 16.

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On *Sin*, its *nature*, by one man came sin, v. 12; in him all sinned, v. 12, 14-19; it is inherent, vii. 17-25, viii. 10; what is not of conscience is sin, xiv. 23; it must have no dominion over us, vi. 14-20; it is injustice, iii. 5, 10-18; it is a falling short of the glory of God, iii. 23; the perversity of sin, iii. 7, vi. 1, 15; its universality, ii. 12-13, iii. 9, 23, v. 12-19; its *effect*, it reigned unto death, v. 21, vi. 23, vii. 5; its *remission due to Christ's death*, iv. 25, v. 6-10, vi. 10; He came in the likeness of sin, viii. 3; the body of sin was destroyed by Him, vi. 6; hence our sins are forgiven, iv. 7-8, for this faith is necessary, iii. 25; by Baptism we are dead to sin, vi. 2, 6-9, 11-13, 18, vii. 25, viii. 2-3; we are freed from sin, vi. 18, 22, vii. 6; *sin and the Law*, sin is a transgression of the Law, iii. 23, 25, 27; the Law is its occasion, since by it came knowledge of sin, iii. 20, v. 13, 20, vii. 7-13; the Law itself is not sin, vii. 7; all, whether under the Law or not, have sinned, ii. 12; details of the sins of the Gentiles, i. 18-32; and of the Jews, ii. 1-27, xi. 7-15, 25.

The *Law*, the Jews rest in the Law, ii. 17; boast of it, ii. 23; are instructed in it, ii. 18; they have the form of knowledge and truth in the Law, ii. 20; they transgress it, ii. 23; the Law speaks to them that are in the Law, iii. 19; circumcision profiteth them that keep the Law, ii. 25-26; Paul speaks to them that know the Law, vii. 1; the Law binds so long as it lasts, vii. 1; the Gentiles have not the Law, ii. 14; those that sin without the Law as well as those that sin with it are condemned, ii. 12; not the hearers but the doers of the Law are justified, ii. 13; the Law does not justify, iii. 20, 28, viii. 3-4; the "Law of justice," ix. 31, x. 5; the promise was not by the Law, iv. 13, 16; heirship is not by the Law, iv. 14; by the Law is the knowledge of sin, iii. 20, iv. 15, v. 13, 20, vii. 5-11, 13; the end of the Law is Christ, x. 4; the Law of faith and the Law of works, iii. 27; the justice of God is witnessed to by the Law, iii. 21; the Law is established by faith, iii. 31; believers are not under the Law but under grace, vi. 14, vii. 4, 6; they are not therefore to sin, vi. 15; the Law worketh wrath, iv. 15; the "Law of death," vii. 4; the Law is not sin, vii. 7; the Law of sin, vii. 23, viii. 2; the Law is holy, vii. 12; the Law of the spirit of life in Christ, viii. 2; the good consent to the Law, vii. 16; the Law of God, vii. 22, 25, viii. 7; love of our neighbour is fulfilment of the Law, xii. 8, 10.

J. Bibliography.

The Patristic Commentaries are numerous, and are, as usual, too much neglected. Origen, *P.G.* XIV; the Greek text is wanting, and we have only Rufinus' Latin translation—or, as he frankly avows, "abbreviation"—of Origen's voluminous Greek. Rufinus complains, too, that much of the original is already lost, and indeed to be found in no library. How far his translation is to be trusted is doubtful; the repeated references to the Latin text, *e.g. Lib.* II. 14, III. 2, 6, IX. 1, 2, 10, 12, seem wellnigh incredible in the mouth of Origen; but if they are simply due to Rufinus, they are marvellously woven into the text and make us all the more suspicious of the rest. St. Chrysostom's *Homilies*, *P.G.* LX, and translated in the Oxford edition of the Fathers, are most valuable for the way in which the Apostle's thought is unravelled step by step; St. Ambrose (or rather Ambrosiaster, to give the unknown author his generally accepted name) has a most useful *Commentary*, *P.L.* XVII. The interest of St. Augustine's *Commentaries* lies in the fact that they date from different periods of his life; for his *Inchoata Expositio*, in which he only deals with a tiny portion of the first chapter, dates from about A.D. 394, while from the same period we have his *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos*, *P.L.* XXXV. The Pelagian controversy threw him back again upon the Epistle, so that in the various treatises he published in the course of this discussion we have minute examinations of all the early portion of the Epistle, while the latter portion is dealt with especially in the treatise *Contra Duas Epistolas Pelagianorum;* all these are to be found in *P.L.* XLIV. St. Thomas Aquinas has left us a *Commentary* which, again, is far too much neglected, yet which, like St. Chrysostom's *Homilies*, is most helpful for unravelling the sequence of the Apostle's

thought. The same, too, must be said of Cornely, S.J., in the *Cursus S. Scripturæ*, 1896, for in addition to a wealth of patristic information and comment he follows out the line of argument in most minute fashion. Sanday and Headlam, *International Critical Commentary*, 2nd *ed.*, 1896, have given us the model Commentary from the point of view of wealth of introductory material and concise notes, but their doctrinal standpoint must always be borne in mind. Zahn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Romer*, 1910, very lengthy, but always stimulative, if not actually provocative. Lagrange, O.P., *Épître aux Romains*, Gabalda, 1916, has here given us the fruit of many years of study of the Epistle, and his Commentary is indispensable. Lightfoot, in his posthumous *Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul*, 1904, has given us valuable discussions on chaps. i-vii. See also articles in *R.B.*, January, 1915, and for a review by Levesque of Sanday and Headlam's Commentary, April, 1896, pp. 254-263.

THE CORINTHIAN EPISTLES

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A. The City of Corinth.

The great city of Corinth at the time St. Paul visited it, A.D. 50, had risen from the ashes of its destruction by Lucius Mummius in 146 B.C. in revenge for the contempt its inhabitants had shown towards the Romans.[1] For, after nearly a hundred years had elapsed since that wholesale spoliation of the city, Julius Cæsar had, in 44 B.C., rebuilt it and colonized it under the name of Colonia Julia Corinthus. Its wealth and its objects of art had gone to enrich the Roman capital; though how little the Romans appreciated the value of their spoils is shown by the venality of Mummius who, at the sale of Corinthian effects, withdrew a famous picture of Bacchus by Aristeides because King Attalus offered so huge a sum for it! The Romans of Cæsar's time seem, however, to have better appreciated these Corinthian spoils, for Strabo tells us how carefully the

[1] Strabo, VIII. vi. 3.

archæological remains were examined;[1] he adds that the Romans at first prized the spoils they discovered in rebuilding the city, but that later they found they were of inferior art. It was left to Cicero to declare that Corinth was "totius Græciæ lumen."[2]

The position occupied by Corinth on the isthmus—with a wonderful port on either hand, Lechæum towards the west and Cenchre to the east—secured the immediate return of the city to affluence. The inhabitants were fortunate, too, in another respect. The storms off Cape Malea forbade ships to attempt to round it; goods were, in consequence, transhipped and carted across the isthmus—with considerable profit to the hauliers. This position secured for Corinth the market of the world; the East and the West poured their treasures across her wharfs and quays. It is not surprising to find that projects were even entertained for cutting through the isthmus in the interests of navigators.[3] The consequences of this inflow of wealth were inevitable: Corinth became a byword for profligacy. "Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum," as Horace put it;[4] in other words, one had to be wealthy to live as the Corinthians lived. Worse still, this immorality was official. The temple of Venus lived by it; the city grew fat on the wealth which foreigners on pleasure bent poured out during their stay.[5]

B. The Foundation of the Corinthian Church.

It was to this city, then, that Providence led St. Paul in A.D. 50. He had but just left Athens, where his failure had disheartened him; hence he came, as he himself remarked (1 Cor. ii. 3), "in fear and in much trembling," for he felt that he had not "the persuasive words of human wisdom" which Athens had seemed to demand, and which Corinth, with its medley of Italian coloni, of Greek pedants and sophists, and Orientals of every type, might also demand. At first he stayed with Aquila and Priscilla, the tentmakers,

[1] Strabo, *l.c.*
[2] *Pro lege Manilia*, v.
[3] Strabo, I. iii. 11.
[4] VIII. vi. 20.
[5] *Ibid.*, where note that Strabo, XII. iii. 26, can find no better way of describing the immorality of Cumana, a little town in Pontus, than by saying that it was "almost a little Corinth."

and worked at their trade, since it was also his. "Every Sabbath" he disputed in the Jewish synagogue[1] with the Jews and the proselytes; when Silas and Timothy came to him from Macedonia, he redoubled his efforts to make his fellow-Jews realize that the Messias had indeed come in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. But all in vain: just as at Antioch of Pisidia,[2] at Iconium,[3] at Lystra,[4] and Thessalonica,[5] the Jews refused to listen, and he felt compelled to "turn to the Gentiles." One proselyte, a Latin—to judge by his name, Titus Justus,— did receive the tidings, and gave him the hospitality of his house as the humble foundation of the "Church of God that is at Corinth." One cannot but feel a certain sympathy for the recalcitrant Jews when they found that the irrepressible Apostle had established himself "next door" (Acts xviii. 7)! We get a hint of the strenuous character of the conflict when we learn that the actual "ruler" of the synagogue, Crispus, with his family, was one of the first converts. It is of interest, too, to note that the names of the Corinthian converts are for the most part Latin; this is a confirmation of the history, for the city was a Colonia, and the inhabitants would largely consist of Italian immigrants; thus note Gaius, Fortunatus, Achaicus, Tertius, and Quartus (Rom. xvi. 23), and Titus Justus. Many things, however, go to show that the Greeks were numerous there, perhaps especially among St. Paul's hearers; the references to γνῶσις and σοφία[6] show that the Apostle had to deal with a type of man who prided himself —much as at Athens—on his intellectual equipment.

Many, however, believed, and the Apostle was encouraged by a vision by night of Christ, saying, "I have much people in this city" (Acts xviii. 10), to stay there a year and a half. Whether at the end of this period or not is not clear, Gallio became Proconsul of Achaia, April, 51, to April, 52.[7] He was presumably a cultivated man, for he was brother to

[1] It is interesting to find that in the course of excavations carried out at Corinth the remains of an inscription bearing the words συναγωγὴ Ἑβραίων were discovered, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898 *cf.* Deissmann, *Fresh Light from the East*, p. 14, for a facsimile.

[2] Acts xiii. 45-50.

[3] *Ibid.* xiv. 2.

[4] *Ibid.* xiv. 18.

[5] *Ibid.* xvi. 5, 13.

[6] 1 Cor. i. 17, iii. 4, iv. 6, 18, 19, v. 2, viii. 1, 7, 10, 11, xiii. 2, 8.

[7] See *s.v. Chronology of the Apostolic Age.*

Seneca the philosopher. The Jews seized St. Paul and brought him before the Proconsul as an opponent of their Law. Gallio, however, regarded the whole affair as a theological squabble and dismissed them. He evidently had no idea that the man before him was the pioneer of a movement which was to shake the world—he "cared for none of these things." After these events the Apostle stayed in Corinth "yet many days." Whether, as we have said, this period is to be included in the eighteen months or not is not clear. He then returned to Jerusalem by way of Ephesus.

In the interval between his second and third missionary journeys there came to Ephesus, and afterwards to Corinth,[1] one who was subsequently to exercise a great influence on the course of events, Apollo of Alexandria, an eloquent man and learned in the Scriptures. He may have been an Essene; at any rate, he was a disciple of St. John the Baptist and embraced Christianity at the instigation of Aquila and Priscilla. St. Paul now opened his third missionary journey in the course of which he spent three months teaching in the synagogue at Ephesus and two years more in the school of one Tyrannus. The riot in that city put an end to his labours there, and the Apostle passed into Macedonia and thence into Greece, presumably to Corinth itself, where he stayed three months. He returned on his steps, passed again through Macedonia, and so to Jerusalem, where he was arrested and ultimately despatched to Rome, which he thus "saw" in a different manner than he had proposed (Acts xx. 21).

It may be well at this point to dwell on the subsequent history of the Church at Corinth. Factions marked it throughout apparently, and it really might seem as though in the end faction ruined it. No more striking proof of this could be alleged than the *First Epistle of St. Clement of Rome*, written to the Corinthian Church about A.D. 98.[2]

[1] Acts xviii. 24-xix. 1.

[2] St. Dionysius of Corinth, in his letter to Pope Soter quoted below, shows us that St. Clement's letter to the Corinthian Church was, perhaps habitually, read in public on Sundays: "To-day we spent the Lord's day, and on it have read your letter. Whenever we read it we shall be able to derive assistance from it, as we do from the former Epistle written to us by Clement," quoted by Eusebius, *H.E.* IV. xxiii. 11.

The Bishop of Rome tells them in plainest terms that they are now what they were when St. Paul wrote to them.[1] Eusebius quotes Hegesippus as saying: "The Church of Corinth continued in the true faith until Primus was Bishop in Corinth. I conversed with them on my way to Rome, and abode with the Corinthians many days, during which we were mutually refreshed in the true doctrine."[2] Hegesippus cannot mean that the Corinthian Church fell away from the faith when Primus became Bishop, for apparently he saw Primus when on his way to Rome, and implies that he was edified by what he saw.

St. Luke in Acts xviii clearly ascribes the foundation of the Corinthian Church to St. Paul alone. But Dionysius of Corinth, writing to Pope Soter, A.D. 167 to 175, to thank the Roman Church for generous contributions in time of need, says, in reference to some advice given: "By such advice you have unified the trees planted at Rome and Corinth by Peter and Paul, for both of them came to this Corinth of ours; they planted us, and likewise taught us; they both of them went to Italy, taught together, and were martyred at the same time." It is absurd to ridicule such a statement on the ground that it is unsupported by further evidence. After all, the Bishop of Corinth was hardly likely to make so positive a statement to the authorities of the Roman Church unless very certain of what he said. Moreover, the statement is borne out by St. Paul's own words anent the factious spirit at Corinth: some say "I am of Cephas" (i. 12), thereby clearly implying that the Corinthian Church knew St. Peter—unless, of course, we are anxious to identify this "Cephas" with one of the seventy-two disciples, as in the similar case in Gal. ii. 9, 11, 14! After all, it is not easy to see how St. Peter is likely to have got to Rome save by passing through Corinth, nor is there the remotest necessity for supposing that he went to Rome and never quitted it again.

[1] See *infra*, p. 113.

[2] *H.E.* IV. xxii. 2-3.

C. The Corinthian Epistles and the Corinthian Church.

When we pass now to the Epistles which the Apostle subsequently addressed to his converts at Corinth we realize how perfectly they correspond with what we should antecedently have expected to be the circumstances of a Christian community situated in the midst of a populace such as Corinth boasted at that period. The Latin Coloni are there, as we have seen; the subtle-minded, rather supercilious Greeks, too, are there. And the Jews are numerous. It is probable that Claudius' expulsion of them from Rome had swelled their numbers in Corinth. The very first chapter strikes what we may term a "Corinthian" note: "In all things you are made rich in Christ," i. 5, *i.e.* Christ alone was their true wealth, a striking contrast to the worldly wealth they saw all around them; it is noteworthy that the word in question, πλουτίζω, only occurs here and in 2 Cor. vi. 10 and ix. 11. Then comes the reference to the factions which had divided Corinth when the Apostle was present there, and which now, alas, have found their way into the infant Christian body. In part they centre round one name—Apollo, of whose visit to Corinth subsequent to the Apostle's departure thence we have learned from Acts xix. Then come the Jews with their "signs" and the Greeks with their demand for subtle speculation, chap. ii. And then comes the fatal immorality—the bane of Corinth. There it is, right in the heart of the "Church of God that is in Corinth"! And it is of an appalling type, chap. v. The faction spirit betrays itself again in the unseemly litigations they have entered into, chap. vi. Then the Apostle passes in review the questions they have put before him in a letter to which this is an answer: first of all, questions touching marriage and virginity, chap. vii.;[1] then about their relationship to the idolatry which surrounded them on every side

[1] Note the introductory formula: "Now concerning . . .," περὶ δὲ, vii. 1, viii. 1, xii. 1, xvi. 1, 12, and *cp.* xi. 2, 17, xv. 1. Apropos of vii. 1 St. Jerome remarks: "When the Corinthians puzzled over this question the Doctor of the Gentiles, the Teacher of the Church, replies most fully; whatever he lays down we must regard as the law of Christ Who speaks by him," *Adv. Jovin.* I. 6, *P.L.* XXIII. 218.

and which entered into the most intimate details of daily life, chap. viii. There follows a digression touching his own position as an Apostle, chap. ix, and then the same two problems—chastity and idolatry in daily life—come forward once again, chap. x. In chap. xi it is once more their party spirit which is the trouble; it seems to have entered even into their common religious practices and affected their behaviour in church. Again, it is the same spirit of division which the Apostle is attacking when, in chaps. xii-xiv, he deals with the diversity of spiritual gifts and with the fundamental oneness in diversity of the Body of Christ, His Church. In chap. xv we can trace the influence of Greek thinkers who have been puzzling over the doctrine of the bodily resurrection. The salutations in chap. xvi tell their own tale; the Apostle had begun by a reference to Apollo and the dissensions which had sprung up in connection with him, though unconscious of it, so now he closes with a warm message from the same Apollo. Finally, Aquila and Priscilla, in whose company he had first begun to labour at Corinth some five years previously, now join St. Paul in saluting their old-time brethren at Corinth.

Neither is it difficult to read between the lines of these Epistles and thus get a glimpse of Corinthian life as it was then led. The Christians led a busy social life, if we are to judge by chap. viii; theirs was not the later life of the catacombs and persecution; they lived in the open and were known of all men. The everyday life of the city was theirs—and it meant difficulties. There was a real meaning for them in St. Paul's repeated warning that they themselves were the temple of God;[1] for the worship in the temple of Venus was always with them as an incentive to vice. Moreover, theirs was an organized Church, as the arrangements for the collection of alms shows.[2] It was the Church—at least for the most part—of the poor, the illiterate, and the slaves.[3] It is easy to see what a revelation the Apostle's teaching must have been to them!

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 16-17, vi. 19, viii. 10, x. 20-21.

[2] 1 Cor. xvi and 2 Cor. viii.

[3] 1 Cor. i. 26-29, vii. 21, xii. 13; 2 Cor. iv. 5; *cp. Contra Celsum*, III. 54-55. This latter aspect of the Apostle's teaching among such a populace is well expressed by Deissmann: "A Christian slave of

How completely, too, the Apostle had entered into their life is clear from the allusions scattered over these Epistles: the theatre,[1] the stadium,[2] the garland of the winner,[3] the idol feasts,[4] the invitations to banquets,[5] the "deliverance to Satan,"[6] the combats with wild beasts[7]—they all figure in his writings, and presumably did so in his discussions when in their midst.

But behind all this again there is something deeper. Paul had come to them in fear and trembling, but God had verily been with him, and his consciousness of the all-prevailing designs of Providence in regard to the Corinthian Church

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Corinth going up the path to the Acrocorinthus about Eastertide, when St. Paul's letter arrived, would see towards the north-west the snowy peak of Parnassus rising clearer and clearer before him, and everyone knew that within the circuit of that commanding summit lay the shrines at which Apollo or Serapis or Asclepius the healer *bought slaves with a price for freedom*. Then in the evening assembly was read the letter lately received from Ephesus, and straightway the new Healer was present with His worshippers, giving them freedom from another slavery, *redeeming with a price* the bondmen of sin and the law, and that price no pious fiction, first received by Him out of the hard-earned denarii of the slave, but paid by Himself with the redemption money of His daily new self-sacrifice, rousing up for freedom those who languished in slavery," *Fresh Light from the East*, p. 333.

[1] iv. 9. [2] ix. 24-27.

[3] ix. 25. [4] viii. 10, x. 26.

[5] x. 27; the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Nos. 110 and 523, of the second century A.D., show us invitations to "sup at the table of the Lord Serapis"; the second of these runs: "Antonius, son of Ptolemæus, invites you to dine with him at the table of the Lord Serapis in the house of Claudius Serapion on the 16th at 9 o'clock." quoted by Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, p. 97. Quite clearly this was an invitation to partake of a meal the food of which had been sacrificed in honour of Serapis.

[6] 1 Cor. v. 4-5; "A person who wished to injure an enemy or to punish an evil-doer consecrated him by incantation and tablet to the powers of darkness below, and the tablet reached its address by being confided to the earth, generally to a grave. A regular usage was established in the language of these execrations—a usage common to antiquity . . . thus the formula 'deliver unto Satan,' recurring in 1 Tim. i. 20, corresponds to the formula in the London Magical Papyrus, 46, 334 *ff.* 'Dæmon of the dead . . . I deliver unto thee N.N., in order that . . .'" And again, "On a much older Attic cursing tablet of lead (third century B.C.): 'I will bind her in fellowship with Hecate, who is below the earth, and the Erinyes,'" Deissmann, *l.c.* 305.

[7] xv. 32.

appears at every turn.[1] This explains his insistence on what he so emphatically terms "the mystery" of God in their regard;[2] hence his incredible zeal in preaching;[3] hence, too, his insistence on the paramount character of Christianity.[4] We get a glimpse, too, of the immense amount of oral teaching which is presupposed throughout the Epistle;[5] we see how a knowledge of the Old Testament is taken for granted and its typical character dwelt on.[6] Nothing in the Epistle itself, perhaps, would have led us to anticipate such a wonderful poem as the hymn in praise of the love of God;[7] it comes as a revelation of that "wisdom among the perfect"[8] which the Apostle declared that he taught. Yet side by side with this we have the plain hints that there is much carelessness among them,[9] and this compels him to insist on the fact of the Judgement to come.[10]

The same features present themselves in the *Second Epistle*, though it is of an entirely different character from the former. Once more it is the spirit of dissension which is at its work, and this time it is about the Apostle himself that men are quarrelling. Consequently he is forced again and again to uphold his own truly apostolic character, despite all gainsayers, so that we have more self-revelation by St. Paul in this letter than anywhere else.

D. Introduction to the First Epistle.

We may now examine more closely the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Perhaps no Epistle furnishes us with so many

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 5, iv. 9-15, ix. 16-17, etc.
[2] 1 Cor. ii. 7-12, xv. 52.
[3] 1 Cor. i. 17,121, 23, ii. 1-7, 13, 16, iii. 10, iv. 17, v. 9, vii. 17, 40, ix. 14-27, xi. 23, xiv. 33, xv. 1-3, 9-15, etc.
[4] 1 Cor. iii. 22-23.
[5] i. 5, vi. 20, vii. 23, xi. 23, etc.
[6] *E.g.* x. 11, xv. 45 *ff.*
[7] xiii.; note St. Jerome's remarks on the difference between the Ephesians and the Corinthians; the latter were only fit to receive the "milk of babes," the former the food of the full-grown, "for among the Ephesians Paul had spent three years, and to them he had disclosed all the mysteries of Christ," *on Eph.* v. 24; *P.L.* XXVI. 531, and *cp.* his words on the profundity of the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, given on p. 76
[8] i. 7. [9] xi. 30. [10] iv. 3-5.

problems: *e.g.* in i. 10-12, the precise nature of the faction which claimed to be "of Christ"; in iii. 15, the doctrine of Purgatory; in v. 5, the meaning of the expression "to deliver over to Satan";[1] vi. 3, that we shall "judge Angels"; vii. 12-17, the so-called "Casus Apostoli"; vii. 10-11, the question of divorce; vii. 34, the very knotty question of the punctuation;[2] vii. 37, the father's anxiety for his unmarried daughter; ix. 5, the "woman a sister"; x. 4, the meaning of "the rock which followed them"; x. 13, the teaching on temptation; xi. 4, the woman's "veil" in church; the Agape, xi; the formula of Institution of the Holy Eucharist, xi. 20 21; the nature of the "charismata," xiv; the whole doctrine of the Resurrection, xv; the precise text to be adopted in xv. 51 and its meaning;[3] and finally the purport of "Baptism for the dead," xv. 29.

In no other Epistle is it so necessary to keep a watchful eye on the Greek text for delicate shades of meaning; thus note the distinction between *ἀιών* and *κόσμος*, i. 20; the force of the present participles *σωζομένους* and *πιστεύοντας*, i. 18 and 21; so too in iii. 11 *κείμενον*, not *τιθέντα*; the shade of meaning denoted by *τὰ μὴ ὄντα*, i. 28; the force of the various uses of *κρίνω* and its compounds, i. 2, ii. 15, iv. 3, 5, 7, vii. 37, x. 25, xi. 29, 32; the distinctions drawn between *ψυχικός*, *πνευματικός*, and *σαρκικός*, ii. 13-16, iii. 3, x. 2, *cp.* 1 Thess. v. 23, etc.

It is the function of the commentator to discuss these questions; we shall content ourselves with an analysis of the Epistle. Most of what we may term the "doctrinal" Epistles call for careful analysis if we would understand their teaching, but such analysis is more especially called for in this *First Epistle to the Corinthians*.

Analysis of the Epistle.

A. Introduction, I. 1-9.
- (*a*) The Apostle's salutation, 1-2.
- (*b*) His thanksgiving for the graces they have received, 3-9.

B. But there are Certain Features in the Corinthian Church which call for Blame, I. 10-VI. 20.

I. *Their schismatical tendencies*, i. 10-iv. 21.
- (*a*) The facts, i. 10-12.
- (*b*) The source of this division—*a false notion they have of their ministers*, i. 13-16.

[1] See above, p. 108. [2] See below, p. 115. [3] See below, p. 116.

(*c*) He shows, therefore, in what (1) *true wisdom* consists; (2) what is the *true position of the ministers* of Christ, i. 17-iv. 21.

(1) *True wisdom.*

(*a*) The wisdom of God and the wisdom of man, i. 17-31.

(*b*) His own preaching as exemplifying this, ii. 1-12.

(*c*) But only the spiritual-minded can grasp this, ii. 13-iii. 4*a*.

(2) What is the *true position of the ministers of Christ*, iii. 4*b*-iv. 21.

(*a*) They are instrumental causes only, iii. 4*b*-9.

(*b*) The responsibility of all, whether as ministering or as ministered to, for the nature of the edifice they erect upon the foundation laid by the Apostles, iii. 10-15.

(*c*) A concrete illustration of this, as preparing the way for the correction to be given in chap. v.

(*d*) Therefore glory not in men, iii. 18-23.

(*e*) Neither judge your ministers, iv. 1-6.

(*f*) What the lives of the Apostles really are, iv. 7-13.

(*g*) Conclusion of this matter; he assures them that he only speaks as their father in Christ; verse 21 leads up to the abuse to be next treated of, iv. 14-21.

II. *Grave immorality has been connived at in the Corinthian Church*, v. 1-13.

(*a*) The case of the incestuous man, v. 1-8.

(*b*) A misunderstanding of something he had said in a former Epistle is corrected, v. 9-13; verses 12-13 lead up to the question of the next abuse.

III. *Their love of litigation*, vi. 1-7.

(*a*) Their love of litigation is such that they even go to law before heathen judges, vi. 1-7.

(*b*) Both this fault and impurity exclude men from the kingdom of heaven, vi. 8-20.

C. Answers to Questions which the Corinthians themselves have put to Him, VII-XI. 1.

I. *Matrimonial questions*, vii. 1-40.

(*a*) The duties of the married, vii. 1-9.

(*b*) No divorce; if husband and wife separate they must not remarry, vii. 10-11.

(*c*) The *Casus Apostoli*, or the nullification of marriage on the conversion of one party and the subsequent unwillingness of the unconverted party to live peaceably with the other, vii. 12-16.

(*d*) They must not be anxious to change their state on the score that they are now Christians, vii. 17-25.

(*e*) The excellences of virginity, vii. 26-35.

(*f*) Duties of parents with regard to the marriage of their children, vii. 36-38.
(*g*) Widows are free to marry again, but it is better not to do so, vii. 39-40.

II. *Is it lawful to partake of food that has been offered to idols?* viii. 1-xi. 1.

(*a*) The principle is laid down that such eating is not in itself illicit; but we must forbear for fear of giving scandal to the weaker brethren, viii. 1-13.
(*b*) He has himself set them an example of such forbearance in the way in which he has declined to use his just rights as an Apostle; he has not "lived by the altar," ix. 1-23.
(*c*) The Christian must be ready to show as much eagerness as this if he would win in the race for the kingdom of heaven, ix. 24-27.
(*d*) Application of these principles: the Israelites fell through their neglect of them; they were too facile in "going to dumb idols," x. 1-11.
(*e*) The incompatibility of idolatry with the Holy Eucharist, x. 12-22.
(*f*) Hence, practical conclusions regarding meats offered to idols, x. 23-xi. 1.

D. He takes Occasion to correct Certain Irregularities which have crept into their Public Worship, XI. 2-XIV. 40.

I. *Women must wear a veil on the head in the church*, xi. 2-16.

II. *Disorder has crept into their celebration of the Holy Eucharist*, xi. 17-34.

(*a*) They allow their divisions to penetrate even here, xi. 17-22.
(*b*) The true doctrine of the Eucharist which he has himself received from the Lord, xi. 23-26.
(*c*) Consequent need of self-examination before receiving, xi. 27-32.
(*d*) Final practical conclusion, xi. 33-34.

III. *Their abuse of certain great spiritual gifts*, xii. 1-xiv. 40.

(*a*) The unity in variety of these spiritual gifts, xii. 1-11.
(*b*) Analogy of the human body with its varied yet mutually dependent members, xii. 12-26.
(*c*) Application of these principles to the Church, xii. 27-31*a*.
(*d*) The key to the right use of these gifts lies in the queen of all the virtues, *i.e.* charity or love of God; an ode in praise of this divine love, xii. 31*b*-xiii. 13.
(*e*) Application of this principle to their use of the various gifts, *e.g.* prophesying, speaking with divers tongues, interpretation of prophecies, etc.
(1) To prophesy is better than to speak with divers tongues, xiv. 1-25.
(2) Practical regulations for the use of these gifts, xiv. 26-40.

E. The Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead, XV. 1-58.

(*a*) The resurrection of Christ is the basis of the Christian faith, xv. 1-11.
(*b*) But if Christ has risen from the dead, then we also shall rise, xv. 12-34.
  (1) Results of the view that we shall not rise : if we do not rise, then neither has Christ risen, and the Christian faith is vain, xv. 12-19.
  (2) But Christ has risen ; the consequences of this to the Christian, xv. 20-34.
(*c*) Answers to objections to the doctrine, xv. 35-49.
(*d*) This is the triumph over death, xv. 50-57.
(*e*) Practical conclusion, xv. 58.

F. The Conclusion of the Epistle, XVI. 1-24.

(*a*) Regarding the alms to be collected for the poor at Jerusalem, xvi. 1-4.
(*b*) The Apostle's plans, xvi. 5-9.
(*c*) Special injunction regarding their reception of Timothy, xvi. 10-11.
(*d*) Apollo's goodwill towards them, xvi. 12.
(*e*) Special honour to be paid to the family of Stephanus, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, xvi. 13-18.
(*f*) Salutations from the church in Asia, and especially from Priscilla and Aquila, xvi. 19-21.
(*g*) The Apostle's final blessing, xvi. 22-24.

E. The Authenticity and Canonicity of the Corinthian Epistles.

The authenticity and canonicity of the *Corinthian Epistles* has never been seriously called in question. Both Epistles were known and quoted freely at a very early period. St. Clement's words are well known :

"Take into your hands the Epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul. What did he set out to write to you about at the outset of the Gospel preaching? Of a truth he wrote to you in the Spirit concerning himself, Cephas, and Apollo, because even at that time you made factions. But that former faction involved much less guilt for you, for then you were separated into parties over Apostles well approved and a man to whom they had borne witness. But now reflect who they are who have perverted you and have diminished the august name of your world-renowned fraternal affection. It is a shameful thing, an exceeding shameful thing, dearly beloved, and one altogether misbecoming the conversation that is in Christ, to hear that the

stablished and ancient Church of the Corinthians is in a state of revolt against the Elders by reason of one or two persons!"[1]

St. Ignatius, too, and St. Polycarp quote these Epistles often—thus compare:

Ignat. *Eph.* viii. and xviii. with 1 Cor. iv. 13 and i. 20; *ad Rom.* v. with iv. 4; Polycarp *ad Philad.* x. and 1 Cor. xv. 58, xi. and vi. 2, v. and vi. 9-10, vi. and viii. 21, iv. and xiv. 25; also *ad Philad.* vi. and 2 Cor. v. 10 and viii. 21. *Cf.*, too, *Ep. of Barn.* xviii. and 2 Cor. xii. 7.

At a somewhat later period we have St. Irenæus citing the First Epistle some sixty times,[2] and speaking of the Second Epistle as "St. Paul's," and also referring to the "thorn in the flesh," 2 Cor. xii.[3] So, too, Clement of Alexandria refers to it constantly, while Tertullian defends it and analyzes it and quotes it about four hundred times.[4] Both Epistles are given in the *Muratorian Fragment*[5] and in the Peshitta Syriac version. The heretic Marcion knew of it,[6] so, too, did the early Ophites,[7] and we can gather from Origen that Heracleon had at least commented on 1 Cor. xv.[8]

F. The Style and Vocabulary of Both Epistles.

The style and vocabulary of both Epistles fully bears out their attribution to St. Paul. Thus we have the familiar Pauline words—to take but a few examples—*αἴσχρος*, *ἀνεγκλήτος*, *ἄπειμι*, *ἀπεκδέχομαι*; also forms he either coined himself or brought into everyday ecclesiastical use, *e.g.* *ἀπρόσκοπος*, *ἐιδωλολατρεία*, *ὀφειλή*, *συγκοινωνός*, *φανέρωσις*, and *χάρισμα*; we have the familiar anacolutha, 1 Cor. iv, 6, 7, 8, 2 Cor. ix. 10-13; antitheses, 1 Cor. iv. 10; euphemisms, v. 1; ironical expressions, iv. 8, 1 Cor. xi. 16; parallelisms, vii. 16; paranomasiæ, vii. 31 and 2 Cor. iii. 2; oxymora, 2 Cor. vi. 9-10. We have, too, the frequent use of unwonted words which is so characteristic of the Apostle; thus in the First Epistle over one hundred *hapax legomena* occur, and in the Second Epistle almost as many, *e.g.* in the latter, *κατοπτριζέσθαι*, *ἐκδημεῖν* and *ἐνδημεῖν*, *μολυσμός*, *σαργάνη*, *σκόλοψ*.

The vocabulary of the Second Epistle is the same as that which meets us in all the Pauline Epistles.

At the same time there are certain words which, owing to the subject-matter of this particular letter, are of more frequent occurence, *e.g.*

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[1] *Ad Corinth.* I. *cap.* xlvii; *cp. cap.* xxxiv and 1 Cor. ii. 9. This *Epistle of St. Clement* dates from about A.D. 98.
[2] *E.g. Adv. Hær.* III. 2, ii. 9, xviii. 2; V. vii. 1.
[3] *Ibid.* IV. xxvi and xxviii; II. xxx; V. iii and v.
[4] *Cp. Adv. Marcionem*, V. v. *ff.*
[5] *Q.v.* Vol. II., p. 89. [6] Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem.*
[7] Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena*, v. 8.
[8] *Tom.* XIII. 59, *in Joann.*

παρακαλέω and παρακλήσις, which occur, the former eighteen times out of a total of fifty-five in St. Paul's Epistles, and the latter ten times out of a total of twenty-two. It is remarkable how the Apostle plays on these two words, especially in the opening verses, where it is neither possible nor even desirable to render them always by the same English equivalent, for now it signifies "to comfort," now "to exhort." The characteristic Lukan word ἱκανὸς, with its derivatives ἱκανόω and ἱκανότης, appears more frequently in this Epistle than in any other of St. Paul's. It is a letter full of tribulation as well as joy, so that we are not surprised to find such words as θλίβω three times out of five in St. Paul's Epistles, θλῖψις nine times, λυπέω twelve times, and the noun λυπή seven times.

G. The Vulgate Text.

The Vulgate text of the *First Epistle* presents certain curious features. In i. 14 the spelling Caius is due solely to the Sixtine and Clementine editions; all MSS. read Gaius with the Greek; the words in ii. 16, "sicut et ego Christi," are similarly due to the Sixtine and Clementine only. The most perplexing puzzle, however, is offered us in vii. 34; unquestionably the best supported Vulgate reading is "quomodo placeat uxori, et divisus est. Et mulier innupta et virgo cogitat quæ Domini sunt, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu." This reading is explicitly upheld by St. Jerome[1] as being "Apostolicæ veritatis" against the Old Latin reading ". . . uxori. Et divisa est . . .," which he gives without comment elsewhere,[2] and which St. Augustine gives when quoting the passage.[3] In vii. 35 the Sixtine and Clementine read "obsecrandi" for "observandi," Rheims "to attend upon the Lord." In xi. 29 the best Greek text and all the Latin MSS., save the Clementine and Sixtine editions, omit "Domini" from the phrase "not discerning the Body of the Lord"; so, too, in xii. 28 "interpretationes sermonum" appears to be an addition simply due to the Sixtine and Clementine; the same must be said of the name "Achaicus" in xvi. 15, which only appears in the Greek "received" text and in the Sixtine and Clementine.

Another interesting variant occurs in xi. 24, where most Vulgate MSS. read "quod pro vobis tradetur," so too

[1] *Adv. Jovin.* I. 13, *P.L.* XXIII. 230.
[2] *Ep.* xxii. 21 and *Adv. Helvid.* xx.
[3] *De Sancta Virginitate*, xxii., and *De Bono Viduitatis*, ii.

does St. Cyprian. But the Greek Fathers, as a rule—excepting indeed St. Athanasius—read κλώμενον, "broken." The great Uncial MSS., however, omit the word, and simply have τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, "which is for you." The same MSS. have in nearly every case been corrected so as to read the added κλώμενον. In xiii. 3, the Vulgate has "ut ardeam," "to be burned," thus corresponding with the Greek καυθήσωμαι, but this reading rests on what we may term minor Greek MSS., though it is that of the versions, and is so quoted by Origen and St. Chrysostom. The great MSS., *e.g.* ℵ A and B, read καυχήσωμαι, "that I may boast," which sounds intrinsically less probable, but is upheld by St. Jerome.

One of the most disputed passages textually is xv. 51. The Vulgate text reads: "Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur"; and this is the reading known to St. Augustine, though he is acquainted with the Greek text, which reads "dormiemus" instead of "resurgemus."[1] St. Jerome,[2] however, apparently knows of no Greek text which reads "resurgemus," and his discussion of the text falls on the much more important question as to the place of the negative: whether, that is, we are to read "Omnes quidem dormiemus (resurgemus), *non* autem omnes immutabimur," or "Omnes quidem *non* dormiemus (resurgemus), omnes autem immutabimur." He quotes various authorities for each reading, and decides for the reading of our present Vulgate, with, however, the substitution of "dormiemus" for "resurgemus." He seems to say that Origen held the same,[3] but as a matter of fact Origen explicitly quotes the text as "we shall *not* all sleep, but we shall all be changed,"[4] and he implies the same reading elsewhere.[5]

It seems almost certain that our present Vulgate text of the Epistles is not that of St. Jerome.[6] An exception may, however, be found in the case of *First Corinthians*, for, as we have just seen, he upholds the Vulgate reading in vii. 34. It should be noted, however, that apropos of the next verse he

[1] *De Civ. Dei*, XX. xx. 3, *P.L.* XLI. 689; *Ep.* CCV. 14, *P.L.* XXXIII. 947.
[2] *Ep.* cxix.
[3] *Ibid.* 5.
[4] *Contra Celsum*, V. 17.
[5] *Ibid.* II. 65.
[6] See Vol. II. *h.l.*, p. 119.

says: "The Latin language does not bring out the force of the Greek; what words have we got to express in Latin Πρὸς τὸ εὔσχημον καὶ εὐπρόσεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπερισπάστως? Hence in the Latin texts these words do not occur, owing to the difficulty of translating them. Consequently we use here the translation we ourselves made."[1] Now the translation he gives is: "Hoc autem ad utilitatem vestram dico: non ut laqueum vobis injiciam, sed ut ad id quod honestum est, et intente faciat servire Domino, absque ulla distractione," whereas all the present Vulgate MSS. have "Porro hoc ad utilitatem vestram dico: non ut laqueum vobis injiciam, sed ad id quod honestum est, et quod facultatem præbeat sine impedimento Domino observandi" (obsecrandi—the Sixtine and Clementine).[1]

In the Vulgate text of 2 *Corinthians* there are not so many points of interest as in the First Epistle; but in i. 6 the clause "sive consolamur pro vestra consolatione" seems simply due to the Sixtine and Clementine editions; in xii. 12 the same two editions seem responsible for the reading "apostolatus mei," "of my Apostleship," instead of "Apostoli," "of an Apostle"; in xiii. 2 the important word "bis," "twice," which is omitted by the Sixtine and Clementine, occurs as "his" or "secundo" or "vobis" in some MSS.

H. The Theological Teaching.

1 Corinthians.—*God:* is faithful, i. 9, x. 13; is One, viii. 6; is the God of peace, xiv. 33; His power, i. 21, 24, ii. 7; is the source of all, iii. 5-10; is unfathomable, ii. 16; is all in all, xv. 28; all things are of Him, xi. 12; chose the foolish of this world, i. 20, 27-28; the foolishness of God, i. 25, iii. 19; the grace of, i. 4, xv. 10; is the Judge of them that "are without," v. 13; the kingdom of God, iv. 20, vi. 9, 10, xv. 24, 50; the mysteries of God, iv. 1; ordained the mystery of Christ, ii. 7; revealed it, ii. 10; the weakness of God, i. 25; we are of Him, i. 30; peace is from Him, i. 3; He is amongst us, xiv. 25; is the fashioner of our bodies, xii. 18, 24, xv. 38, and of the Church, xii. 28; the will of God, i. 1; the Church of God, i. 2, x. 31, xi. 16, 22, xv. 9; the gifts of God, vii. 7; word of, xiv. 36; He gives us the victory through Christ, xv. 57; we must abide with Him, vii. 25; bear Him in our body, vi. 20; He has called us in peace, vii. 15, 17; we must love Him, viii. 3; we are His temples, iii. 16; thanks to God, i. 4, 14; are made in His image, xi. 7; Christ is God's, iii. 23, xi. 3; He made Christ our sanctification, i. 30.

Christology: (*a*) Of the *Nature* of Christ: He is not divided, i. 13, viii. 6; the Holy Eucharist is His Body and Blood, x. 16, 21, xi. 23-30.

[1] *Adv. Jovin.* I. 13, *P.L.* XXIII. 231.

He is the foundation, iii. 11; the "Rock," x. 4; God is the Head of Christ, xi. 3; He is of God, i. 30; is "God's," iii. 23; is Justice, i. 30; is Lord, iv. 4-5, vii. 25, 32, 34, 35, 39, viii. 6, ix. 5, xii. 5; the "Lord of glory," ii. 8; "God," "Lord," "Christ" are all identified, ii. 16, iii. 5, iv. 19, vii. 17, xi. 32, xvi. 7; is One, xii. 12; is the Power of God, i. 24, v. 4; is the Sanctification of God, i. 30; the Son of God, i. 9, xv. 28; the Wisdom of God, i. 24, 30.

(*b*) His *Redemptive work* for us: He died for us, viii. 11, xv. 3, *cp.* xi. 26; He rose again, vi. 14, xv. 4, 12-23; was raised by the Father, vi. 14, xv. 15; seen by Paul, ix. 1; appearances after resurrection, xv. 5-8; His triumph over death, xv. 24-28.

(*c*) *Christ in relation to ourselves:* we are in Him, i. 30, ii. 1, iv. 10, 15, xv. 58, xvi. 24; we are His, iii. 23; begotten in Him, iv. 15; our bodies are His, vi. 13; we are His members, vi. 15, 17; we are many in the Lord, vii. 39, xi. 12; He is our Head, xi. 3; hence in Him we shall sleep, xv. 18, and hope, 19, and rise again, 22; we must love Him, xvi. 22; He is our sanctification, i. 2, and justification, vi. 11; grace and peace are by Him, i. 3-4, xvi. 23; we are rich in Him, i. 5; an "oracle" of Christ's, ix. 14; His commandments, vii. 25; His testimony, i. 6, ii. 1; His Gospel, ix. 12; sin against Christ, viii. 12; He chastises us, xi. 32; must have fellowship in Him, i. 9; He is our Pasch, v. 7; we must work in Him, ix. 1; must not tempt Him, x. 9, 22; must call on His Name, i. 2, 10, v. 4; we are His ministers, iv. 1; must preach Christ crucified, i. 23, ii. 2; He will judge us, iv. 5; in His day, iii. 13, iv. 5; His Second Coming, i. 7, 8, iv. 5.

Christ and St. Paul: Paul was "sent" by Him, i. 17; is an Apostle, ix. 2; Christ's power in him, v. 4; he has the mind of Christ, ii. 16; his ways are Christ's ways, iv. 17; hence we must be followers of St. Paul, iv. 16, xi. 1.

The Holy Spirit: is the Spirit of God, ii. 11-12, iii. 19, vii. 40; is One, xii. 4, 8-13; God speaks by Him, xii. 3, xiv. 2; is revealed by Him, ii. 10-12; we have the Spirit, ii. 12-14, iii. 16, vi. 19; are justified by the Spirit, vi. 11.

The Church: is the Church of God, i. 2, x. 31, xi. 16, 22, xv. 9; God is its fashioner, xii. 28; the universal Church, xii. 28; whole Church, *i.e.* local, xiv. 23; as a place of worship (?), xi. 18, xiv. 19, 28; of Asia, xvi. 19; of Corinth, i. 2; of Galatia, xvi. 1; all the Churches, iv. 17, vii. 17, xiv. 33; women in the Church, xiv. 34-35.

2 Corinthians.—*God:* (*a*) *His Nature:* the Living God, iii. 3; the will of, i. 1, viii. 5; the Father, i. 2-3; the Father of Christ, xi. 31; the charity of, xiii. 13; God of comfort, i. 3, vii. 6; is faithful, i. 18; the power of, iv. 7, ix. 10, xiii. 4; all are His, v. 18; is able to give grace, ix. 8.

(*b*) *The work of God:* is in Christ, v. 19; made Christ to be "sin" for us, v. 21; reconciled us in Christ, v. 18, 20; He raised up Christ, iv. 14; raises the dead, i. 9, iv. 14; gives the Holy Spirit, i. 22, v. 6; the word of God, ii. 17, iv. 2; commanded that light should be, iv. 6; anointed us, i. 21; exhorts through the Apostles, v. 20; the Gospel of God, xi. 7; the peace of God, xiii. 11; the grace of, i. 12, viii. 1, ix. 14.

(*c*) *God in relation to us:* we are manifest to Him, v. 11; our justice

is in Him, v. 21; we are His temples, vi. 16; confidence in, iii. 4; thanksgiving to, i. 3, ii. 14, iv. 15, viii. 16; we are a sweet odour unto, ii. 15; the fear of, vii. 1; must glorify God, ix. 13; our knowledge of the glory of God, iv. 6, 15; He has given us a measure, x. 13; the Apostles are commended by God, x. 18; our sufficiency is from Him, iii. 5; He humbles us, xii. 21; the Apostles are mighty unto God, x. 4; we must pray to, xiii. 7; He has made the Apostles ministers, iii. 6; the sight of God, iv. 2; sorrow must be according to God, vii. 9-11; the Apostles speak "before God," ii. 12, *cf.* vii. 13, viii. 21, xii. 19.

Christology: (*a*) *The Nature and Person of Christ:* He is the Son of God, i. 3, 19, xi. 21; the Lord "the Spirit," iii. 17-18; is in the image of God, iv. 4; is "the Lord," v. 6, 8, 11, viii. 5, 19, ix. 12, x. 17, xii. 8, xv. 10; emptied Himself, viii. 9; God is in Him, v. 19; knew no sin, v. 21; yet was made "sin," v. 21; the promises of God in Christ, i. 20; His glory, iii. 18; Christ "according to the flesh," v. 16; He is not something indeterminate, i. 18-20; the face of, iv. 6; the mortification of, iv. 10; Christ and Belial, vi. 15; the grace of, viii. 9, xiii. 13; modesty of, x. 1; mildness of, x. 1; obedience of, x. 5; there is no "other" Christ, xi. 4; the truth of, xi. 10; weakness of, xiii. 14; power is through Him, x. 8; His power, xii. 9, xiii. 3-4.

(*b*) *His redemptive work:* He was crucified for us, xiii. 4; was raised up by God, iv. 14, xiii. 4; grace and peace flow from Him, i. 2; the Law is made void in Him, iii. 14; the Gospel of, ii. 12, iv. 4, ix. 13, x. 14; the judgement-seat of, v. 10; the "day" of Christ, i. 14; became poor for us, viii. 9; His charity, v. 14.

(*c*) *Christ in relation to us:* we are reconciled through Him, v. 18-19; the Gospel of the glory of, iv. 4; comfort comes through Him, i. 5; we are confirmed in, i. 21; triumph in, ii. 14; our justice is in Him, v. 21; glory in, x. 17; His sufferings abound in us, i. 5; we are His, x. 7; the Apostles are His ambassadors, v. 20; His ministers, xi. 23; He is preached by St. Paul, i, 19, iv. 5, xi. 4; he speaks "in the Person of Christ," ii. 10, *cf.* ii. 17, xii. 19; we are the odour of Christ, ii. 14-15; His epistle, iii. 3; confidence in Him, iii. 4; the Apostles are servants through Him, iv. 5; they manifest the life of Christ, iv. 10-11; fear of Christ, v. 11; alms for glory of Him, viii. 19; thanksgiving to, ix. 12; virgins are dedicated to Him, xi. 2; simplicity in Christ, xi. 3; He is in us, xiii. 5, *cf.* xii. 2 and xiii. 3.

The Holy Spirit: the Spirit of the Lord, iii. 17-18; is the only Spirit we receive, xi. 4; the communication of, xiii. 13; the pledge of, i. 22, v. 5; we must show our lives in Him, vi. 6; He inspired the Scriptures, iii. 3, 8.

The Holy Trinity: xiii. 13.

The Church: the Church of God, i. 1; praise in all the Churches, viii. 18; ordained by the Churches, viii. 9; Apostles of the Churches, viii. 23; in the sight of the Churches, viii. 24; other Churches, xi. 8, xii. 13; the solicitude of all the Churches, xi. 28.

J. Introduction to the Second Epistle: Analysis.

No other of St. Paul's Epistles is marked by such varied play of feeling as his *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*. In the tenderness of the first portion it reminds us of the *Epistle to the Philippians;* in the strength of the invective with which it concludes it reminds us of *Galatians*. The sudden transitions, too, are most remarkable. A letter such as this reminds one of nothing so much as overhearing a person speaking on the telephone. We only have half the conversation; we have to fill in the gaps as best we can. And the gaps here are large. Previous letters are wanting; the Apostle probably paid visits to Corinth of which we know nothing. In this sense the Epistle is fragmentary; it is a voice from out the past, and that past but a shadowy one. Consequently it is no easy matter to analyze the Epistle or present an acceptable division of its contents. Still, broadly speaking, we may say that the Epistle falls into three parts:

I–VII. The principles which have guided the Apostle in his dealings with his converts.

VIII–IX. The question of the collection of alms.

X–XIII. His vindication of his Apostleship.

Or in greater detail:

Analysis of the Epistle.

A. i. 1-14. The introduction; he dwells on the comfort that he finds in God in all his trials: *For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so also by Christ doth our comfort abound.*

B. i. 15-ii. 13. He shows that his not visiting them was not due to fickleness but to a wish to spare them. He has had to write to them in stern language, but now he extends his fullest pardon to the offenders.

C. ii. 14-vi. 18. His joy at the good account of them brought to him by Titus leads him into a digression on the joys and sorrows of the Apostolate:

- (i.) ii. 14-17. A pæan of gratitude to God that his confidence in them has been restored.
- (ii.) iii. 1-18. Of the glory of the ministry of the New Testament.
- (iii.) iv. 1-v. 21. How he himself has endeavoured to exercise this ministry, and it has been for their sakes.
- (iv.) vi. 1-vii. 1. He exhorts them to do the same.

D. vii. 2-16. He returns to the subject of Titus and the good news he had brought; he does not regret the sorrow his letters have caused, for they have brought about a sorrow "according to God."

E. viii-ix. On the collection of alms for the poor at Jerusalem; he urges the Corinthians to imitate the splendid example of the Macedonians; he gives details regarding the method to be adopted, and he dwells on the efficacy of almsgiving.

F. x-xiii. A stern denunciation of certain false Apostles.

(i.) x-xi. 5. To prove to them the right he has to insist on their correcting themselves he will, though in the Lord, set forth the glory of his Apostolate.

(ii.) xi. 6-xii. 21. The fact that he has not claimed their support cannot make him inferior to other so-called Apostles.

(*a*) His sufferings as an Apostle, xi. 22-33.

(*b*) His revelations, xii. 1-10.

(*c*) The signs of his Apostolate, xii. 11-13.

(*d*) Love and fear for them, and not guile, have compelled him to seek them out, xii. 14-21.

(iii.) xiii. 1-13. A final exhortation and appeal; he is coming now for the third time; he is not reprobate; let them see to it that it is not they who may be proved reprobate.

K. The Historical Relationship of the Two Epistles.

The *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* is of a totally different character from the former Epistle, and from many points of view furnishes us with one of the most delicate problems in the whole of the New Testament. As we pointed out when treating of the *Acts of the Apostles*, this latter volume is not concerned with St. Paul's literary work, but solely with his missionary journeys. The details of *Acts* have not got to be made to dovetail into the *Epistles;* they have nothing to do with them. But the *Epistles* must—though we may often find it difficult to see it—dovetail into *Acts*. The facts as given us in *Acts* and in the *Corinthian Epistles*, as well as in that to the *Romans*, are as follows:

(*a*) Acts xix. 22, Timothy and Erastus are despatched to Macedonia previous to the riot at Ephesus.

(*b*) xx. 1. Immediately after the riot Paul himself goes to Macedonia, and thence, xx. 2, to Achaia or Corinth; there he stays three months, xx. 3.

(*c*) xx. 4-5, from Achaia he goes to Troas and thence to Philippi, whence he sails for Jerusalem in company with the

Macedonians, Sopater, Aristarchus, and Secundus, Gaius from Derbe and Timothy (from Lystra), and the Asians Tychicus and Trophimus. The "we" sections in *Acts* had broken off at xvi. 17, whence we conclude that Luke had been then left at Philippi, but they are now resumed, xx. 5, so that we can presume that Luke also accompanied the Apostle from now onwards.

These details are in agreement with what St. Paul writes to the Corinthians:

(*d*) 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4, directions are given them for starting a collection for the poor at Jerusalem similar to that which had been begun in Galatia.

(*e*) xvi. 5-11, he tells them of his plans for visiting the Corinthian Church: he will come to them from Ephesus *via* Macedonia, and will, if possible, spend the winter with them. He proposes, however, to stay on at Ephesus till Pentecost, as "a great door and evident" is opening to him there.

(*f*) xvi. 10, he expects Timothy to reach them shortly, *cp.* Acts xix. 22.

So far all is plain sailing, for Acts xx. has shown us that this plan was actually carried out, that the Apostle came rom Ephesus to Macedonia and thence to Corinth, where he stayed three months, and that thence he went to Jerusalem *via* Macedonia with the alms they had collected. But when we turn to 2 *Corinthians* we discover that in *Acts* Luke has passed over—as not affecting his purpose—certain very interesting facts.

(*g*) 2 Cor. i. 8-14, the Apostle refers to the riot at Ephesus, and lets us see how grave a matter it was.

(*h*) i. 15-ii. 11, he shows us incidentally that the Corinthians have written to complain that he has not fulfilled his plans in their regard and that—in their opinion—through a certain fickle-mindedness, he has not paid them the promised visit. Incidentally, too, he himself lets us see that his plans had changed; for he now says that he had intended to come to them direct from Ephesus, pass from them to Macedonia, and thence back again to Corinth, that thus they "might have a second grace." St. Paul explains that he had not adhered to this plan, first of all in order to spare them, i. 23; secondly, to spare himself a visit which could only be a source of grief, ii. 1. He also lets us see

that he had written them a letter which had caused them great disturbance of mind, ii. 3.

(*i*) ii. 12, he says that when he reached Troas, where—as at Ephesus—"a door was open" to him, he was dismayed at not finding Titus, though he does not tell us why he had expected to find him there. So distressed was he at Titus' failure to come that he left Troas and went to Macedonia, apparently with the intention of waiting for him there.

(*j*) At this point the Apostle makes a lengthy digression, and until vii. 5 he dwells on the dignity of the Christian ministry.

(*k*) vii. 5-16, he tells us that after much suspense in Macedonia he was filled with joy at the arrival of Titus, who told him that the Corinthians were full of repentance, and that his stern letter to them had been well received. His joy at this news is unspeakable. And he proceeds at once to take them into his confidence regarding the collection of alms, which by now was wellnigh complete.

(*l*) viii. 1-5, the Macedonians, he tells them, have done well in the matter.

(*m*) viii. 6-24, further, he has asked Titus—as he had managed so well at Corinth—to undertake the final arrangements for the same collection there; this Titus had undertaken to do. Consequently Paul is sending Titus back to them with "the brother whose praise is in the Gospel," and also with another who has been "proved diligent in many things."

(*n*) ix. 4, he adds that some Macedonians are coming with him to Corinth; this accords well with Acts xx. 5.

Now, however, there comes a sudden change in the tone of the Epistle:

(*o*) In xii. 14 and xiii. 1 he says that this is now the third time that he is coming to them.

(*p*) xii. 18, he speaks of having sent "Titus and a brother," not two brethren as in viii. 18-22; clearly he is referring to ii. 13, where he had told us that he had awaited the return of Titus from Corinth.

(*q*) Rom. xv. 24-25, the collection of alms is completed, and he is now on his way to Jerusalem with it; this was written from Corinth, *cp.* xvi. 1, and is presumably to be referred to the three months spent there, as related in Acts xx. 3

The problem, then, is to discover the precise nature of the events in the history of the Corinthian Church which are only alluded to here, and which St. Luke passes over in silence in *Acts*. Unless we can do this we cannot hope to arrive at a clear understanding of 2 *Corinthians*. To begin with, it is clear that in the interval between writing *First Corinthians* and the penning of this present letter some disagreeable incident had occurred in the Corinthian Church. An individual is mentioned, ii. 5-8, but he is not the only guilty person, for throughout the Epistle there are scattered allusions to a party which is violently opposed to the Apostle.

At the same time, it is by no means easy to discover what precisely this incident was. The traditional view[1] would connect it with the case of the incestuous man whose case was pronounced upon by the Apostle in 1 Cor. v. For it is commonly supposed that in 2 Cor. ii. 5-11 and vii. 9-12 St. Paul absolves this man, who has shown his grief at his crime. But while thus condoning the sinner's fault, St. Paul was unable to shut his eyes to the fact that not all who were involved in the case have repented. There are still some who withstand his display of authority, who are thereby led to deny the reality of his Apostleship, and who have provoked deep feeling against him. It is "to spare" such as these that he came not to them as he had planned, and it is against these adversaries that he hurls the invective contained in chaps. x-xiii. It must be acknowledged that there are certain grave though not insurmountable difficulties in this apparently simple solution of the question. For, first of all, it would seem that at least one letter had passed between the Apostle and the Corinthian Church

[1] St. Ambrose, *Ep.* xlvii. 6, *P.L.* XVI. 1200, *De Pœnitentia*, I. xv (78), *P.L.* XVI. 510; St. Jerome, *Comment. in Gal.* ii. 10, *P.L.* 338: "Paulus Corinthii illius meminit quem cum in priore Epistola contristasset ad tempus, ut corpore per pœnitentiam laborante, spiritu salvus fieret; in secunda, ne majori tristitia absorberetur, revocat ad Ecclesiam," etc. *Cp. Adv. Jovin.* I. 8, *P.L.* XXIII. 222, and *Ep.* XLVIII. 4. St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* IV. in 2 Cor. simply takes the identification for granted all through his exposition of cap. ii.; see, too, Tertullian, *De Pudicitia* xv., *P.L.* II. 1009; Origen, *Præfat. in Comment.* in *Romanos*, Delarue, IV. 59. Moffat, for reasons which are not clear, denies the identification, *Introd. to Lit. of O.T.*, 2nd *ed.*, p. 122, note.

since the despatch of *First Corinthians*, 2 Cor. ii. 3-9, vii. 8-12. In the second place, it is practically certain that, whether previous to or subsequent to the despatch of *First Corinthians*, the Apostle had paid a visit to Corinth of which we find no mention in *Acts*. Lastly, is it so certain that the pardon referred to in 2 Cor. ii. and vii. concerns the incestuous man of 1 Cor. v.? These three points, then, must be examined separately.

(*a*) Was there a letter intermediate between *First* and *Second Corinthians?* 1 Cor. v. 9 shows us that there was an Epistle, now lost, which preceded our *First Corinthians*. From 2 Cor. ii. 3-4, vii. 8-12, it is practically certain that the Apostle had felt compelled to address to the Corinthian Church a very strong letter "with many tears" and "out of much affliction of heart," a letter which made the recipients "sorrowful unto repentance." Was this letter our *First Corinthians?* It is hard to find in it anything that will accord with strong expressions such as the above. The only possibility would be that in 2 Cor. ii. 3-4 St. Paul was referring proleptically to the strong words he makes use of in 2 Cor. xii. 21, etc. This would at first sight seem an impossible use of the epistolary aorist; yet it is the explanation adopted by St. Chrysostom.[1] The general consensus of opinion, however, is against this explanation, and it certainly seems far more probable that an intermediate letter really has dropped out.

(*b*) But the second question, that is of a visit paid to Corinth apart from the two mentioned in Acts xviii and xx, is even more complicated. In 2 Cor. ii. 1 St. Paul declares that he has made up his mind "not to come *again* to you in sorrow"; similarly in xii. 14 and xiii. 1 he apparently speaks of a *third* visit as contemplated. Were it not for the silence of *Acts* and for the difficulty of assigning an appropriate time for the second visit thus implied no one could doubt but that the Apostle had at the time of writing 2 *Corinthians* already visited them twice. But it is urged that a careful study of these three passages will show that they do not so clearly imply an actual second visit. Thus in 2 Cor. ii. 1 we are at once faced with the question whether the sentence is to be punctuated: "Not to come to you again, *in sorrow*,"

[1] *Hom.* IV. 2 in 2 Cor., *P.G.* LXI. 419.

or "not to come to you, *again in sorrow*." According to the former punctuation, the proposed visit would only be his second one, but it would be "in sorrow"; according to the latter form of punctuation, the proposed visit would be his third, and the second which had been "in sorrow." The more natural interpretation of the passage seems to be the latter: he had had experience of one visit to them "in sorrow," and he had no wish to renew the experience. St. Chrysostom so understands it: "When he says 'again' he shows that he has already been sorrowfully affected by them."[1] And this interpretation would seem to be endorsed by xx. 14 and xiii. 1, "Behold now the *third* time I am ready to come to you. . . . Behold this is the *third* time I am coming to you." At the same time the two interpretations of ii. 1 are possible: it may refer to a second visit, the first "in sorrow"; it may refer to a second visit "in sorrow," which would be really his third visit to them. Similarly xii. 14 and xiii. 1 are both capable, without any undue forcing of the text, of a twofold interpretation. They may refer, as we have said, to a third visit; they may also mean merely that now for the third time he is *prepared* to visit them; indeed, xii. 14 might almost seem to demand this interpretation.

Thus while it seems perfectly clear that one Epistle was written between our present *First* and *Second to the Corinthians*, we are, so far, by no means compelled to hold that there was also a visit from the Apostle after he had despatched 1 *Corinthians*. It is worth remarking, too, that whereas the silence of *Acts* regarding this visit is not conclusive—the *Acts* are silent, for instance, touching many incidents which find a place in 2 Cor. xi—the same cannot be said of the silence of 2 *Corinthians* itself on the point. For it might well be argued that if the Corinthians murmured at the Apostle's non-fulfilment of his plan to come to them previous to going to Macedonia, St. Paul could surely have alleged in extenuation that he *had* paid them this supposed visit "in sorrow." Is it likely that he would have been content with a mere hint that he had been among them? The silence of 2 *Corinthians*, then, combined with the silence of *Acts* and with the difficulty of assigning a time for this

[1] *Hom.* IV. 1 in 2 Cor., *P.G.* LXI. 419.

supposed second visit will, so it is urged, justify us in ruling it out. But if we do so, then we shall have to interpret 2 Cor. ii. 1, xii. 14, xiii. 1 in the way suggested already, *viz.*, "I determined not to come to you again, in sorrow," and "this is the third time that I am *proposing* to come to you." In this last passage, xiii. 1, the Apostle's words demand attention.

We render the passage thus: "This third time I am coming to you: *In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word stand.*" He proceeds to explain what the "two or three witnesses" are: "I have already declared to them that sinned before, and to all the rest, and, though absent now, I announce as I did when present the second time—that if I come again I will not spare!" If this translation is correct and if the text on which it is based is trustworthy, then it would seem that we have a categoric affimation here that at the time of writing 2 *Corinthians* St. Paul had *already* paid two visits to Corinth. It is in this way that St. Chrysostom explains the "two or three witnesses": "I was with you twice and I spoke, and now I speak again by letter."[1]

The words τὸ δέυτερον after παρὼν appear in all the Greek MSS. and in St. Chrysostom. It is true that they are wanting in the printed Sixtine and Clementine Vulgate editions, but at least three good Vulgate MSS. have *bis*, *viz. Amiatinus*, *Fuldensis*, and *Cavensis*, while the *Book of Armagh* has *secundo*. Granting, then, the soundness of the text, the only question is whether the particle ὡs is to be rendered "as if" with the Authorized Version or "when" with the Revised. St. Chrysostom takes it to mean "when."

While, then, the interpretation of two of the three passages where this second visit seems to be referred to is dubious, the same can hardly be said of this third passage. Yet it seems that its interpretation must govern that of the other two. We shall have, then, to punctuate ii. 1, "not to come to you, *again in grief*," and we shall have to rule out the possible view that in xii. 14 and xiii. 1 St. Paul only meant that this was the third time he had been *proposing* to come to them.

The conclusion is, then, that in the interval between our *First* and *Second Epistles to the Corinthians* there passed one

[1] *Hom.* XXIX. 1 in 2 Cor., *P.G.* LXI. 596.

letter from the Apostle and he also paid them a visit of which we have no definite record, but which was certainly a painful episode. Now, if we can put our finger on the causes which compelled him to write this letter and to pay this visit we shall have the key to the interpretation of our Second Epistle. And without doubt the key lies in the pardon he extended to an individual sinner in ii. 5-11, combined with the rebuke he feels bound to administer in mild terms in ii. 4 and vii. 8-12, and much more strongly in chaps. x-xiii. Hence the importance attaching to the question of the identity of this pardoned sinner with the incestuous man of 1 Cor. v. For if they are to be identified, then we must suppose that on receipt of *First Corinthians* some crisis developed at Corinth which necessitated the despatch of the severe letter referred to in 2 Cor. ii. 3, and also to the visit "in sorrow," as well as to Titus' mission, ii. 13, vii. 6-16. It would be permissible on this supposition to reconstruct events somewhat in the following fashion: on the arrival of *First Corinthians* the criminal referred to in chap. v. expressed his repentance at what he had done, 2 Cor. ii. 7; many—in all probability the majority—of the members of the Church accepted the rebuke in all humility, vii. 11; but there remained a residue who rebelled against the Apostle's authoritative way of doing things. St. Paul would seem to hint at the presence of these men in ii. 15-17 as well as throughout chaps. iv-v, where he insists on the dignity of the Christian ministry, *cp.* v. 11-12. But in the latter portion of the Epistle he feels bound to speak out clearly concerning such gainsayers; hence the terrible invective of chaps. x-xiii, which has proved a stumbling-block to so many.

St. Chrysostom upholds the identification in question; but it is now maintained by many[1] that the person referred to in 2 Cor. ii. and vii. is, after all, not the incestuous man of 1 Cor. v., but some personal opponent of the Apostle, and that his violent attitude had necessitated the despatch of the lost Epistle as also of the visit "in sorrow." Thus it is urged that whereas the predominant idea in 1 Cor. v. is that the incestuous man has committed an offence against God, in 2 Cor. ii, 5, vii. 12 the idea is rather that of an

[1] See, for instance, Hastings, *Dict. Bible*, I, p. 493 (*d*).

offence against Paul himself; in the former passage the man is said to have "grieved" the Apostle—though St. Paul is at pains to point out that it is rather the Corinthian Church as a whole that he has grieved—and in the latter he contrasts "him that did the wrong" with "him that was wronged"; the latter, it is urged, was none other than St. Paul himself. But against this must be set the fact that a sin against God could not fail to have been a grief to His Apostle, and, secondly, that it is by no means clear that it is the Apostle who has been "wronged." For who could more fitly be described as "wronged" than the father of the sinner? We have no right whatever to conclude, as is too hastily done, that the partner in the incest was a widow at the time. Moreover, the personal opponents of the Apostle are rather those referred to in chaps. x-xiii. St. Chrysostom, as we have said, upholds the identification of the man who is pardoned in 2 Cor. ii and vii with the man condemned in 1 Cor. v; but against this it is urged that Tertullian vehemently denied the identification.[1] Tertullian, however, was not at that time an unbiassed authority, for he had already embraced the tenets of the Montanist party, and in his treatise *De Pudicitia* he is concerned to uphold the irremissible character of sins against chastity.

If this solution proves acceptable, it will provide an answer to a view which has gained ground in some quarters of late, *viz.* that the lost Epistle referred to in chap. ii is really to be discovered in chaps. x-xiii.[2] It is urged that an attentive study of this section will show that it should be detached from 2 *Corinthians* which really seems to come to a fitting conclusion with chap. ix. It is also urged that the "Great Invective," as chaps. x-xiii have been termed, is altogether out of keeping with the note of intense joy which the Apostle has previously struck in ii. 14-vii. 16. Moreover, the vehemence he displays in these last chapters would seem calculated—if they form part of the Epistle—to undo the good he had done by his display of tender charity in the preceding chapters. Further, it almost seems as though in xii. 18 the mission of Titus was referred to as already past, whereas in viii. 18-22 Titus seems to be spoken of as only now sent on his mission. Consequently, so it is maintained, it is at least not inconceivable that in

[1] *De Pudicitia*, xiii-xvi.

[2] *E.g. Expositor*, November, 1914, where chaps. x-xiii are regarded as the missing Epistle referred to in chaps. ii and vii, and chaps. vi. 14-vii. 1 as the lost Epistle referred to in 1 Cor. ix.; *cp. R.B.* July-October, 1918, p. 588.

chaps. x-xiii. we have a portion, at least, of the missing Epistle referred to in chap. ii. and in vii. 8. Nor should we be surprised at such a dislocation when we reflect that the original *First Epistle to the Corinthians* has disappeared altogether.

But there are certain other weak points in this argument which we must not pass over; in the first place, can anyone imagine one of St. Paul's Epistles ending as does chap. ix? What has become of the salutations, etc., which form so characteristic a feature as a rule? Again, it is hard to justify the statement about Titus' mission. Lastly, is this explanation more in accord with the facts than the one we have put forward?

For it must at least be acknowledged that if events did so take place as we have suggested—if, that is, there was this series of visits and letters to the Corinthian Church—then the various portions of *Second Corinthians* do fall into place, and there is no need to detach the latter portion from what has gone before and endeavour to discover in it the lost Epistle referred to in chaps ii and vii.

To recapitulate briefly: In the earlier portion the Apostle (*a*) answers the charge of fickleness in not visiting the Corinthians as he had promised, i. 15-23. (*b*) A letter which he had sent them saddened them, ii. 4-11, vii. 8-12. (*c*) An individual had been punished by him, vii. 12, *cf.* 1 Cor. v. 1-11; and (*d*) had also been pardoned by him, and, too, by the Corinthian Church acting in his name, ii. 5-11. (*e*) He here takes occasion to treat of the glory of the Christian ministry, iii, and shows how he himself has always endeavoured to live up to the high standard demanded by it, iv-v; he urges that they themselves are bound to co-operate with the same grace, vi. But (*f*) it is clear that the Corinthian Church had, in part at least, revolted from allegiance to his authority, vii. 1-3, though they had repented having done so, vii. 7-16. Consequently, throughout the whole of this section the Apostle deals with them in the most fatherly and affectionate fashion. There still remained, however, a section of the Church in that city which stood out in open revolt against the Apostle; with these he proceeds to deal, x-xiii. His whole tone changes, and necessarily so, when he comes to deal with these recalcitrants: he is "bold," x. 1-6, 11-12, xi. 21, xiii. 2, 4, 10; he feels compelled to "boast somewhat more," x. 8, xi. 10; it is no longer a question of some "individual" who has offended, but there are some who claim that they are "Christ's," *cp.* 1 Cor. i. 12-13; these men seem to have expressed their contempt for St. Paul, and even to have laughed at his appearance, x. 1, 10, xi. 5-6, xii. 11, xiii. 3; they sought occasion against him, xi. 12; they gloried in the flesh, xi, 18, *cp.* x. 3; they seem to have accused him of going beyond his proper sphere of action, x. 13-16; they even ventured to assert that he was a burden to his Churches,

xi. 9, xii. 13-16. The Apostle, however, denounces these people as "false Apostles," xi. 13; he speaks of their "contentions," xii. 20; of their conceit, x. 5; of their disobedience, x. 6, *cp.* ii. 9. He gives us a hint, too, as to the extent to which their influence had infected the whole body, xi. 4-9, xiii. 1-3.

Who were these rebellious folk? "If any man trust to himself that he is Christ's . . . as he is Christ's, so are we," says the Apostle in his rebuke, x. 7. It would seem, then, that these are the same people who are referred to in 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 23, and are consequently to be identified with the Judaizing party which figures so largely in St. Paul's life. They repudiated, apparently, all apostolic authority, and claimed to rest solely on that of Christ. The case of the incestuous man gave them a handle. The Apostle had demanded his punishment in unequivocal terms, and these Judaizers resisted such exercise of authority.[1]

We thus have the following series of Epistles and visits to the Corinthian Church:

(*a*) The first visit for the foundation of the Church, Acts xviii, *cp.* 2 Cor. xi. 9.

(*b*) First Epistle (lost), *cf.* 1 Cor. v. 9-11.

(*c*) Second Epistle, *i.e.* our Canonical *First Corinthians*.

(*d*) Second visit to Corinth, not mentioned in Acts, *cf.* 2 Cor. ii. 1, xii. 14, xiii. 1; *cp.* 2 Cor. iv. 18-21, xi. 24, xvi. 5.

(*e*) Third Epistle, now lost, *cp.* 2 Cor. ii. 3-4.

(*f*) Fourth Epistle, *i.e.* our Canonical *Second Corinthians*.

(*g*) Third visit to Corinth, Acts xx. 2-3; *cp.* 2 Cor. i. 15, ii. 1, ix. 4, xii. 14, xiii. 1.

Nor should it be objected that it is hard to place this second visit (*d*) in between our two Canonical Epistles on the score that if the Apostle actually did go thither it is difficult to see how the Corinthians could (2 Cor. i. 15-24) accuse him of fickleness in not keeping his promise. For apparently the Corinthians complained not so much of his not having come to them at all, but rather of his not having come to them on his way to Macedonia instead of passing as he had done directly from Ephesus to Macedonia. Neither should we be disturbed by the silence of *Acts* touching this visit (*d*). St. Luke nowhere undertakes to give us a complete catalogue of all St. Paul's journeyings. If *Acts* were to be our sole criterion, we should have to reject much of 2 Cor. xi. 23-28.

[1] See St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* I. in 2 Cor., *P.G.* LXI. 383.

L. The Dates at which the Two Epistles were written.

There is one feature in common in these two Epistles, and it appears also in the *Epistle to the Romans:* we refer to the collection of alms for the poor of Jerusalem. It is of interest from the way in which it enables us to link up these Epistles with one another and also to date them.

We learn from 1 Cor. xvi. 1-3 that St. Paul has already arranged for such a collection to be made in the Galatian Churches; he now proposes to the Corinthians a practical plan which shall ensure their laying aside a certain sum for this purpose. It seems clear from the casual way in which the subject is thus introduced in 1 *Corinthians* that they had already been made aware of this collection. The Apostle here shows his practical sense by arranging that the sums thus collected shall be carried to Jerusalem by messengers accredited by the Corinthian Church. When he comes to write 2 *Corinthians* matters have progressed, and when once he is satisfied—by the news Titus brings—that they are in a good state of mind, he stirs up their generosity by setting before them the noble example of the Macedonian Churches, while at the same time reminding the Corinthians that they themselves have been ready "from the year past," viii. 10. These facts serve as a confirmation of the view that only a short time elapsed between the despatch of *First Corinthians* and the *Second* Epistle to that Church. For during the three months spent at Corinth he penned the *Epistle to the Romans* wherein he says, xvi. 25-30, that the collection has been permitted, and in fact is already in his hands. That he himself finally brought it to Jerusalem is stated in Acts xxiv. 17.

Thus we have in the story of this great collection a number of "undesigned coincidences," which combine to set the seal of truth on the writings in which they are mentioned so casually. Much the same kind of argument might be used in the case of the man condemned in 1 Cor. v. and pardoned in 2 Cor. ii and vii; the one case is unintelligible without the other.

Further, when the Apostle says "I will tarry at Ephesus

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till Pentecost," 1 Cor. xvi. 8, this suffices to show that this Epistle dates from his third missionary journey, and therefore, in accordance with the chronological system we have adopted,[1] lies between the years A.D. 52 and 55, also that it was written from Ephesus. The allusions to the collection of alms for the Church at Jerusalem further show us that the order of the three Epistles is 1 *Corinthians*, 2 *Corinthians*, *Romans*.[2] It may be reasonably argued from the story of the successive stages in this collection that no long time elapsed between the composition of these three Epistles, though Origen maintained that the story of the incestuous man and his pardon demanded a considerable interval between 1 and 2 *Corinthians*.[3]

When St. Paul says that he proposes to "stay at Ephesus till Pentecost," 1 Cor. xvi. 8, and when we find that the closing Pentecost of his third missionary journey was actually spent at Jerusalem, Acts xx. 17, we can justly refer the Pentecost passed at Ephesus to the year preceding, *i.e.* to A.D. 54; this would give the spring of that year as the year of the composition of our Epistle, when, that is, about eighteen months of his sojourn at Ephesus had run. This seems borne out by the reference to the "great door and evident" that is opening up to his gaze, 1 Cor. xvi. 9, to a time, that is, when he was realizing that his work in that district was being abundantly blessed. The only difficulty in this lies in the allusion, 1 Cor. xv. 32, to his fighting with wild beasts at Ephesus, for this is often taken to refer to the riot, Acts xix, and therefore to the close of his stay at Ephesus, and consequently to the spring of A.D. 55. The allusion to the riot, however, is far from certain, and 1 Cor. xv. 32 may equally well refer to the whole story of his campaign against opposing forces in that city. Certainly it would leave no time for events subsequent to his departure from Ephesus. What those subsequent happenings were is not at all clear, owing to the changes in his plans which he was compelled to make and of which we shall treat further

[1] *Cf. infra, s.v. Chronology of the Apostolic Age.*

[2] Origen, *Lib.* X. 14 *in Ep. ad Romanos, ed.* Delarue, IV. 678; see, too, St. Chrysostom's admirable introductory Homily prefixed to *Hom.* I, *P.G.* LXI. 11.

[3] *Præf. in Ep. ad Romanos, ed.* Delarue, IV. 459.

on. It is clear, however, that he proposed to pass through Macedonia after Pentecost, and thus come on to Corinth where he intended to stay some time, perhaps even during the coming winter, 1 Cor. xvi. 5-7. That he went to Macedonia is clear from 1 Cor. ii. 13, vii. 5, viii. 1, and ix. 4; also that when there he penned our *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*. St. Luke, Acts xx. 1-3, summarizes this part of the history by saying that after the Ephesian riot the Apostle went into Macedonia, where he preached much, and whence he passed into Greece. Here he stayed three months, presumably the winter months of November to January. This would give us from Pentecost of A.D. 54 to the late autumn for the Apostle's stay in Macedonia and for the writing of 2 *Corinthians*. Some time in the spring of 55 he set out for Jerusalem, where he arrived in time for Pentecost, A.D. 55, and was arrested.[1]

M. Bibliography of 1-2 Corinthians.

On 1 *Corinthians:* Edwards, 1885; Godet, 1886, Engl. tr., 1888; Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul*, deals with chaps. i-vii; Robertson and Plummer in the *International Critical Commentary*, 1911; see, too, Ramsay, a series of papers in the *Expositor*, sixth series.

On 2 *Corinthians:* Menzies, 1912; Plummer in the *International Critical Commentary*, 1915.

For articles on particular points: On the so-called "Christ party," *Expositor*, November, 1914; on the connection between 1 Cor. v-vi, see especially Bernard, *Studia Sacra*, ix; on the Agape, see *R.B.*, April, 1903, January, 1904, April, 1906; *Expository Times*, December, 1914; on the Resurrection, chap. xv, Bernard, *l.c.* v.; on Titus and 2 Corinthians, *Expositor*, April, 1909; on the Corinthian Epistles and recent criticism, *R.B.*, 1899, p. 283.

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[1] See *Chronology of the Apostolic Age, infra;* also Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, p. 78.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

A. The Character and Theme of the Epistle.
B. Analysis.
C. Its Canonicity.
D. The Identity of the Galatians and of the Churches to which the Epistle was addressed.
E. St. Paul's Attitude towards the Law.
F. His Rebuke of St. Peter.
G. The Date of the Epistle.
H. The Vocabulary and the Latin Text.
J. The Theological Teaching.
K. Bibliography.

A. The Character and Theme of the Epistle.

The Churches of Galatia had, shortly after the Apostle's evangelization of them, been seduced into accepting circumcision as a necessary introduction to the Gospel.[1] The false teachers who had induced them to do this had evidently insisted that St. Paul had no authority save what he derived from the Apostles at Jerusalem, and that he had presumably misunderstood his commission. To this the Apostle answers that his Gospel is from God,[2] and that he did not, on his conversion, go to Jerusalem. He only went there three years later *to see Peter*,[3] and he *was unknown by face to the Churches of Judæa*.[4] Moreover, when he went there fourteen years after his conversion, he did so *according to revelation*,[5] to *communicate to them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles*.[6] The authorities at Jerusalem did not think it necessary to circumcise Titus, who was with him, though false brethren did try to insist on

[1] i. 6. [2] i. 11-16. [3] i. 18. [4] i. 22.
[5] ii. 2, *cp.* Acts xi. 27-30. [6] ii. 2.

this.[1] On the contrary, *those who seemed to be something* endorsed his commission to the Gentiles, only asking for alms for the poor of Jerusalem.[2] Nay more, he withstood Peter to the face on this very question of accommodation to the prejudices of the converts from Judaism, ii. 11-16.[3]

It would be difficult to set forth the theme of this Epistle better than St. Jerome has done:

"Before setting forth in compendious fashion the argument of this Epistle, I must warn you first that this Epistle and that to the Romans treat of the same matters. There is, however, this difference between them, that in writing to the Romans his thought is deeper and he uses more profound arguments; in writing to the Galatians he is writing to people whom he addresses later on as 'O foolish Galatians!' and to whom he also says 'Are ye then so foolish . . .?'; that is, he so orders his words to them as rather to blame them than teach them; and, so that even 'foolish people' may understand him, he clothes simple ideas in simple speech; since reasoning did not avail with them, he tries to recall them by authoritative pronouncements. There is hardly any address of the Apostle, whether it be in Epistles or 'as present' in the flesh, in which he does not labour to show that the burdens of the old Law are now laid aside, and that all those things which preceded as types and figures—for example, the rest on the Sabbath day, the mutilation of circumcision, the series of monthly observations and recurring three feasts of the year, the scrupulous nicety about kinds of meats, and the daily cleansings which only called for more cleansings—all these have, by the grace of the Gospel, suddenly ceased; and this Gospel grace is attained, not by the blood of victims, but by the faith of the believing soul. Elsewhere, indeed, he treats of these things only in part, as it were, and because the question occurred to him when treating of something else; it is an aside, and is only summarily discussed. But in these two Epistles he treats expressly of the passing of the old dispensation and the entrance of the new.

"There is, however, this peculiar feature of the *Epistle to the Galatians*, that here the Apostle is not writing to people who have come from Judaism to believe in Christ and who consequently hold that they have to observe the ceremonies handed down by their fathers. On the contrary, he is speaking to people who from heathenism have passed to the Gospel, and who yet have fallen back again because frightened by the authority of some who asserted that Peter and James and all the Churches of Judæa had combined the Gospel of Christ with the old Law. These same men had asserted that Paul himself preached one thing to the Jews and another to the heathen; they had urged, too,

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[1] ii. 4-5. [2] ii. 6-10, *cp.* Acts xi. 27-30.

[3] See St. Jerome on Gal. i. 1 and 14, *P.L.* XXVI. 312 and 324; also *Ep.* LXXIV. 3, *P.L.* XXII. 683-684. For a paraphrase of the whole Epistle see *Expositor*, March, 1916.

that it was idle for the Galatians to believe in the Crucified One while affecting to neglect what the princes of the Apostles observed.

"Consequently the Apostle cautiously steers a mid-course between the two parties; he refuses to betray the Gospel grace on the ground that he is overwhelmed by the weighty authority of those greater than he; yet neither does he impugn those who have gone before him when he asserts the efficacy of grace; he approaches the question indirectly, he almost seems to come to it by some subterranean passage. Thus he is able to teach Peter how, while working for the people of the circumcision entrusted to him, he may not lead them to refuse to believe in the Cross through being scandalized at it owing to his own sudden departure from his old mode of life; and for himself—to whom the preaching to the heathen had been entrusted—he maintains that it is right to defend as the truth what Peter had pretended was only a dispensation. That scoundrel Porphyrius never understood this, and hence maintained in the first volume of his work againt me that Peter was blamed by Paul because he really did not proceed straightforwardly in preaching the Gospel; he tried to make Peter guilty of error and Paul of impertinence, and to make a lie out of a piece of agreed fiction by supposing that the princes of the Churches were really in disagreement."[1]

This Epistle stands apart from all the rest of St. Paul's letters by reason of its intensely personal character. As a revelation of the Apostle's character it is kin to the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* and to *Philemon;* for precision in dogmatic teaching it ranks with that to the *Romans.* It has been well described as "written at a white heat."[2] For the Apostle is deeply moved by the fact that his converts of Galatia have been seduced by representatives of the Judaizing faction at Jerusalem to adopt the Mosaic Law as though it were necessary for salvation. He is distressed at their fickleness, i. 6, iii. 1; he is indignant at the behaviour of these Judaizers, i. 8-9, v. 12, vi. 12-13; he is well aware of the personal devotion of the Galatians to himself, iv. 15, and he shows at every turn how strong are his own feelings in their regard, iv. 19-20, v. 10. The letter is plainly a recapitulation of what had been the unvarying theme of his teaching when amongst them: the promise of

[1] *Prologue* to his *Commentary on Galatians*, *P.L.* XXVI. 309-311; the last words, of course, gave rise to the famous controversy with St. Augustine, *cf. infra*, and St. Jerome's actual Commentary on chap. ii.

[2] Thus note St. Chrysostom: "Nunc quidem urens et secans, nunc rursum mitiora admovens remedia . . . nunc beatis prædicans et collaudans, rursus increpans et objurgans," *Comment.* on Gal. i. 1, *P.G.* LXI. 611-612.

salvation was made to Abraham, *i.e.* long anterior to the giving of the Mosaic Law; it was made to Abraham and to his children, not, that is, to those who should keep the Law —which is to be given so much later—but to those who should prove themselves children of Abraham by believing as he did, iii. 3, 16-18, 29. This "sonship" of Abraham was to receive its fulfilment in fellowship with Christ, whereby we were to become His co-heirs and thus sons of God, iii. 29, iv. 5-7, 31. To regard the Law as necessary for salvation after the coming of Christ was equivalent to a denial of Him, ii. 21, v. 2-3.

In order to drive home his doctrine the Apostle writes in the name of "all the brethren who are with me"; it is an authoritative declaration in the name of the Church. Doubtless those who seduced the Galatians have traversed his apostolic authority and urged that he was not really one of the Twelve; he is therefore compelled to vindicate his apostolic rights, i. 12, ii. 21, and show that though he was not "called" with the original Twelve, yet his call was divine; moreover, his teaching had been fully endorsed by the Apostles whom all recognized. Neither must they imagine that he has two "Gospels," one when he is present with them, another when absent; for the Gospel is "one" and unalterable, i. 6-11.

The Apostle's earnestness in this Epistle appears in its freedom from the digressions which are so marked a feature of most of his letters; here he never quits the question at issue. *Galatians* differs, too, from the rest of St. Paul's Epistles in that he did not in this case employ an amanuensis, but wrote it all with his own hand, or, if this is a doubtful interpretation of vi. 11,[1] that he wrote at least the

[1] The ordinary reading has Ἴδετε πηλίκοις ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί. It seems impossible to render this "see what a letter I have written to you with my own hand," see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 1865, p. 212. St. Chrysostom maintained (*in loco*, *P.G.* LXI. 678) that this could "mean nothing else than that St. Paul wrote the *whole* Epistle himself"; the word πηλίκοις, *qualibus*, is referred by him, not to the size of the letters used, but to their badly formed character, "as if he would say, 'though unable to write well, yet am I compelled to write.'" St. Jerome, however, repudiates this interpretation: "Not that the letters were large in character (for this in Greek would be πηλίκοις), but that his handwriting was well known to them, so that, as they looked at it, they could fancy they actually saw the writer" (*in loco*, *P.L.* XXVI. 434).

concluding verses himself. The entire absence of the customary "salutations" is remarkable, for the Apostle must have known practically all the members of those Churches by name; perhaps his self-restraint was meant as an indication of sternness.

B. Analysis of the Epistle.

A. I. 1-10. Introduction: *I marvel that you are so soon removed from Him that called you into the Gospel of Christ, unto another Gospel!*

B. I. 11-II. 21. His Apologia or Defence of his Gospel.

i. 11-12. The Gospel which he preached was not from man, *but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.*

i. 13-ii. 21. Proofs of this:

(*a*) The story of his conversion, i. 13-16.

(*b*) On that occasion he had no communication with the Apostles, i. 17-24.

(*c*) Nor again when he went up to Jerusalem fourteen years later, ii. 1-10.

(*d*) Indeed, he withstood Cephas to the face on this very question of subservience to the Mosaic Law which has had such a fascination for the Galatians, ii. 11-21.

C. III-V. 13*a*. He contrasts the Law of Bondage and the Spirit of Freedom.

(*a*) iii. 1-6. He adjures them to reflect on what they have done: *Did ye receive the Spirit by the works of the Law, or by the hearing of faith?*

(*b*) iii. 6-18. The promises came to Abraham by *promise*, not as a *reward* for works: *the just man liveth by faith;* and this promise was not annulled by the coming of the Law.

This would seem to show that St. Jerome read ἡλίκοις and not πηλίκοις. St. Jerome then proceeds to pour contempt on the opinion which, as a matter of fact, St. Chrysostom held; but since the latter clearly read πηλίκοις, which would, as St. Jerome admits, refer to the size of the characters employed, it seems clear that St. Jerome is not referring to Chrysostom himself. The English translations vary: "Se ye what maner of lettris I haue write to you: with myn owne hand," Wyclif and Rheims; "Beholde how large a letter I have written unto you with myne awne honde," Tyndale, Cranmer, the Genevan and the Authorized Version. The Revised Version, "See with how large letters I have written . . .," agrees with Wyclif and Rheims; Challoner has "See what a letter I have written . . ." See a discussion in *Expository Times* for June, 1911, also March, 1913; Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Engl. tr., p. 346.

(*c*) iii. 19-29. What, then, is the function of the Law? It *is our pedagogue into Christ.*

(*d*) iv. 1-10. Under the Law we were children, *νήπιοι*; under Christ we are sons, *υἱοί*, of adoption.

(*e*) iv. 11-20. He makes a personal appeal to them: they had received him so well in spite of his infirmities.

(*f*) iv. 21-31. The children of Agar and Sara are types respectively of the bond and the free, of the material and the spiritual Jerusalem: *We are not the children of the bondwoman, but of the free—by the freedom wherewith Christ hath made us free.*

(*g*) v. 1-13*a*. If they take up circumcision—the yoke of the Law—they will fall back into servitude, whereas they *have been called unto liberty.*

D. V. 13*b*-VI. 10. Moral Application of the Foregoing.

(*a*) v. 13*b*-26. This law of liberty is that of mutual charity; the life of the Spirit as opposed to that of the flesh. He contrasts the works of the flesh with the works of the Spirit.

(*b*) vi. 1-10. Practical charity consists in mutual instruction and in bearing one another's burdens.

E. VI. 11-18. Conclusion: *See what a letter I have written to you with mine own hands!* Those who counsel circumcision do so for their own glory; the Apostle glories in nought save the Cross of Christ.

C. Canonicity.

Doubt has never been thrown on the authenticity and canonicity of this Epistle.

The Apostolic Fathers have several allusions to it; compare, for example, St. Clement, 1 *Cor.* v. with Gal. ii. 8; 1 *Cor.* xlix. and Gal. i. 4. St. Ignatius, *Philadel.* i. and Gal. i. 1; *Magnes.* viii. x. and Gal. i. 13, ii. 14. St. Polycarp, *Phil.* iii. and Gal. iv. 26; v. and Gal. vi. 7; also xiii., where Gal. i. 1 is quoted. It is given in the *Fragment of Muratori*, and Tertullian undertook the defence of the Epistle against Marcion's use of it, *Adv. Marcionem*, V. ii-v, *P.L.* II. 470-482.

D. The Identity of the Galatians and of the Churches to which St. Paul wrote.

The Galatians were Gaulish immigrants into Asia Minor who had been invited thither by Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, about 278 B.C. They were allies of Mithridates I., king of Pontus, though about 66 B.C. we find them in alliance with Rome against the Mithridates who then ruled. The natives of

the district were Phrygians who probably outnumbered the invading Gauls. These latter consisted of three tribes, the Tolistobogii, the Trocmi and the Tectosages. According to St. Jerome[1] they had, besides Greek, "which the entire East makes use of," a language of their own, "nearly allied to that of the Treviri." Jerome also quotes[2] Lactantius *ad Probum*—a lost work—as saying that "in the Province of Galatia to which the Gauls came they mingled with the Greeks, so that their territory was first called Gallo-Græcia, and afterwards Galatia." He also quotes Varro as saying that they were trilingual, since they spoke Greek, Latin, and the Gallic language.[3] St. Jerome supposes that the recipients of the *Epistle to the Galatians* were the inhabitants of the northern district, and he speaks of "Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia," as still torn by factions.[4]

In 189 B.C. Manlius Vulso undertook a punitive expedition against these Gaulish immigrants, and sold great numbers of them into slavery. Some thirty years later we find the Galatians conquering a portion of Lycaonia; in 88 B.C. they league themselves with the Romans in the latter's war against Mithridates, king of Pontus. In 39 B.C. Antony made Amyntas king of Pisidia, and in 36 he received in addition "Galatia proper, Isauria, part of Pamphylia, and Western Cilicia, as well as the Lycaonian plain between his Pisidian and Galatian dominions." This meant that Antioch, Iconium and Lystra came at that date to be included in "Galatia." When Amyntas died in 25 B.C. his kingdom was broken up into the Provinces of Galatia and Pamphylia; in A.D. 41 Derbe was also included in this Roman Province.

Which were the Churches of Galatia? Until recent years it was always supposed that the Galatians to whom the Epistle was addressed were the inhabitants of the northern district in which lie the towns Ptavium, Pessinus, and

[1] *Com. on Galatians, Prol. to Bk. II, P.L.* XXVI. 357; *cf.* Photius, *Bibliotheca*, CCXXIV. 20, *P.G.* XCIII. 898.

[2] *Ibid.* 554.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* 356. In 2 Tim. iv. 10 "Crescens has gone to Galatia." Eusebius, *H.E.* III. iv. 9, has *εἰς τὰς Γαλλίας*, or in some MSS. *τὴν Γαλλίαν*, and St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* LI. 11, *P.G.* XLI. 910, maintains that, despite the fact that some read "Galatia," the reading "Gaul" is correct.

Ancyra. And it was presumed that at some time in the course of his second missionary journey St. Paul evangelized that northern district. But there are certain patent difficulties attaching to this view. (*a*) St. Luke is silent regarding any such journey.[1] (*b*) These towns are never mentioned in N.T. (*c*) It is difficult to assign a place for mission work in them during the course of the second journey. (*d*) It is remarkable, too, that Galatia is nowhere mentioned in *Acts;* for Acts xvi. 6 does not—so it is maintained—really speak of *the country of Galatia*, but of *the Galatic region*. Now *Galatia* and the *Galatic region* are not the same thing. The former denotes the geographical district occupied by the Galatians, the latter the Roman Province of Galatia, which extended much further south than did the district, for it reached as far as the northern border of the Roman Province of Pamphylia. This two-fold division, *viz.* the geographical and the political, led to the use of a double nomenclature in speaking of the districts of Asia Minor: the local nomenclature whereby the various peoples were distinguished, *e.g.* Phrygia, Galatia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, etc.; and the Roman nomenclature according to the Roman Provinces, *e.g.* Asia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia. These nomenclatures overlapped, so that we have Asian as well as Galatic Phrygia. Now St. Paul apparently followed the line of the Roman road, and by preference preached in Roman districts. We have an instance of this in his visit to Lystra and Derbe rather than to Barada and Laranda which were bigger cities but not Romanized, Acts xiv. 6; for Lycaonia fell into two well-defined portions: the Roman, *i.e.* that portion of it which coincided with the Province of Galatia, and was in consequence known as Galatic Lycaonia, and that portion which was under the sway of Antiochus, and was known as Antiochian Lycaonia. Thus the people dwelling in the Roman portion would speak of that portion which fell under Antiochus as the Antiochian territory or "region"; while those dwelling in this latter portion would speak of the portion under the Romans as the Galatic

[1] Yet this depends on the interpretation of Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23 see below.

region, *i.e.* that portion of Lycaonia which fell under the Roman Province of Galatia.

A study of the expressions used in xvi. 1-8 may perhaps serve to corroborate the view here suggested, *viz.* that the Epistle is addressed to Churches in the Province of Galatia as distinct from the district of that name, with only a portion of which did it coincide, and that consequently the recipients of the Epistle were the Churches so familiar to us from Acts xiv-xvi, and not the Churches of Ancyra, Ptavium, etc., with which *Acts* in no way connects the Apostle.

In chap. xvi, then, Paul and Barnabas come to Derbe and Lystra from the East, not from the West, as in xiv. 6. There is no question of their founding Churches on this occasion—they simply "pass through" (xvi. 4, 6); verse 6 continues: "And when they had passed through *Phrygia and the country of Galatia*, they were forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia. And when they were come *into* Mysia, they attempted to go into Bithynia, and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not." A correction is demanded in the italicized words of ver. 6: we should—so it is maintained—read with the best MSS. *the Phrygo-Galatic region;* moreover, in ver. 7, "*over against* Mysia" is the correct rendering of κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν. The term "Asia" in ver. 6 of course stands for the Roman Province of "Asia," which comprised Mysia, Caria, and Lydia. If we retain the translation *Phrygia and the country of Galatia*, we shall have to suppose that Paul and Barnabas went to the West from Iconium into the geographical district known as Phrygia, and that they then turned north-east into the geographical district of Galatia, where St. Paul proceeded—according to the traditional or the "North Galatian" theory—to establish the Churches of Galatia, to which he afterwards addressed his Epistle. But the whole tenor of the passage shows that this journey was a hasty one, and that its objective—in the intention of the Holy Spirit—was Europe and Philippi, though Paul and Barnabas failed to see this at first. It is hard, then, to find time on this second journey for the foundation of these North Galatian Churches. Moreover, the expression *over against Mysia* is incompatible with an approach to that district from the north-east. For

the preposition *κάτα* with the accusative denotes rather approach to an obstacle stretched across the route, and this would only have been the case if the missioners came from the neighbourhood of Antioch of Pisidia, *cf.* *κατὰ Κνίδον* (Acts xxvii. 7). In full accord with this the next verse has: "And when they had passed along the border of Mysia," *παρελθόντες δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν.* Now, according to the explanations given above, *the Phrygo-Galatic region* should signify that portion of Phrygia which coincided with part of the Roman Province of Galatia, and, coming from Iconium, as they did, the missioners would actually be in Phrygia and also in the Province of Galatia. When St. Paul commenced his third missionary journey we are told (Acts xviii. 23) that "he went through the country of Galatia and Phrygia." That these two names cannot here stand for the local geographical divisions will be evident from a glance at the map—for such a journey would have been impossible to one coming from the East; how could he get to the "district" of Galatia? Nor can we render it "the Galatic Province and Phrygia," since so hybrid a nomenclature—half Roman and half local—is without parallel. But St. Paul's starting-point on this occasion was Derbe which is not in Phrygia, whereas Iconium—the starting-point in xvi. 6—was in Phrygia. Hence in xvi. 6 he uses the expression "Phrygo-Galatic," in xviii. 23 "Galatico-Phrygian"; for Derbe, while not in Phrygia, was yet in the Province of Galatia.

If appeal is made to Acts xix. 1 as favouring the North Galatian theory—since we are there told that "Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus"—it may be sufficient to reply that these "upper coasts" merely signify the route to Ephesus on the hill crest above the valley of the Lycus and the Meander.

The only explanation which would favour the North Galatian theory is that St. Paul founded these Churches in the course of his first missionary journey. In fact, it seems probable from Gal. iii. 14 that sickness compelled him on that occasion to neglect the low-lying Pamphylia and to proceed at once to the higher-lying Pisidia; but have we any reason for supposing that at this time he pressed forward northwards and evangelized the territory of the Galatians? The journey would have been a long one and an arduous

one; moreover, we should have to account for St. Luke's complete silence regarding it.

The above is a condensed account of the theory which Ramsay has made famous.[1] Practically every point in his argument has been controverted, and though his theory was welcomed on its first appearance, the pendulum seems now inclined to swing round to the older view that the Epistle really was directed to the Churches situated in North Galatia. The weakest point in his argument seems to be the rendering "Phrygo-Galatic region," also the endeavour to read an official meaning into the word χώρα as given above. It is possible that in his anxiety to establish his theory he has unduly forced certain arguments, and thus apparently weakened his case. But even granting this, it must, we think, be conceded that, on the whole, the theory that our Epistle was addressed to the Churches of South Galatia is the more acceptable one, since it seems to square with the greater number of factors in the case.

Since, however, this is strenuously denied by recent upholders of the older "North Galatian" theory it is but just to examine their arguments. To begin with: Ramsay argues that St. Paul would, as a Roman citizen, be inclined to use rather the official Roman terminology; in other words, by "Galatia" he would mean the Roman Province rather than the original district in the north colonized by the Gauls. Now the Apostle refers to ten such districts; that is, countries which, besides their original local denomination, were also Roman Provinces. These are Achaia, Arabia, Asia, Cilicia, Dalmatia, Illyricum, Judæa, Macedonia, Spain, Syria, and Galatia. It is maintained that only in the case of Asia does St. Paul certainly refer to the Province, and not to the geographical district;

[1] See especially his *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 74-96; *St. Paul the Traveller*, chaps. v-ix. See, too, various papers in the *Expository Times*, 1911-1913. For a trenchant criticism see Schmiedel, *s.v. Galatians* in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, also Lagrange, *Épître aux Galates*, pp. xiii-xxviii, 1918, and A. Lukyn Williams in the *Cambridge Greek Testament, Galatians*, 1910. For other articles see *R.B.*, 1895, p. 78, October, 1900, p. 625, 1909, p. 313, July, 1920, p. 457; Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, pp. 169-179, Oxford, 1912; Fouard, *St. Paul*, Eng. tr., p. 50, note.

he may do so in the case of Macedonia and Illyricum, and —with less probability—in the case of Achaia. We must, then, regard St. Paul's usage as quite indecisive.[1] But Tacitus clearly refers to the Province "Galatia,"[2] so, too, do Pliny[3] and Ptolemy the geographer.[4] Strabo is quoted as using the term in strictly geographical sense, *i.e.* by "Galatia" and the "Galatians" he means the district and its inhabitants as distinct from those added later: "The Galatians," he says, "received by a voluntary concession the present Galatia, or Gallo-Græcia as it is called. . . . At present the Romans possess this as well as all the country which was subject to Amyntas, and have reduced it to one Province." In other words, Strabo seems expressly to exclude the term "Galatia" from those additions which embraced St. Paul's cities of Antioch, Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium. This, however, seems perfectly intelligible when we reflect that Strabo only died the year after these districts were erected into a Province. The same applies to his concluding remarks about Cæsar's creation of the "Consular government" of "Asia within the Halys and the Taurus, except the Galatians and the nations under Amyntas."[5] The same seems to be the case with St. Peter's opening words, "To the sojourners in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Pamphylia," where it is not easy to see how Mr. Williams can acknowledge that these names refer to Provinces, and yet in the same breath argue that "the position of Galatia (in this list) between Pontus and Cappadocia suggests that only the northern, or north-eastern, part of it was meant by St. Peter"; for while that is perfectly true, it does not alter the fact that St. Peter is referring to the Province of Galatia, though more especially to the northern and ancient portion of it.

Up to the present there seem to be only three inscriptions which give us any clue as to the nomenclature which would be used when speaking of the inhabitants of the southern portion, namely—to repeat—of that portion which was not originally territory occupied by the Galatians. The first is

[1] Lukyn Williams, *Galatians* in Cambridge Greek Testament, pp. xix-xx.
[2] *Hist.* ii. 9 and *Annales*, xv. 6.
[3] *Hist. Natur.* v. 95. [4] XII. v. 1. [5] XVII. iii. 5.

from Iconium, and practically contemporary with St. Paul's missionary life, since it is referred either to the time of Claudius or of Nero; in it an official's district is spoken of as Γαλατικῆς ἐπαρχείας, and ἐπαρχεία is rendered "Provincia" in Acts xxiii. 34 and xxv. 1, so, too, by Polybius.[1] The second is from Antioch of Pisidia: Sospes, a governor of Galatia, is spoken of as being over "provinc. Gal. Pisid. Phryg." It is true, of course, as Mr. Williams notes, that these are official or quasi-official inscriptions, and that, perhaps, we should not be justified in arguing from them to popular usage. But is it precisely popular usage that we are in search of? We want to know what terms a Roman citizen like St. Paul would employ; it seems undeniable that he thought along the lines of Roman domination. The third inscription hails from Apollonia, in the extreme west of the Province of Galatia, about fifty miles from Antioch of Pisidia. A citizen of Antioch here speaks of his city as his "fatherland of the Galatians"; in other words, he speaks of what we term South Galatia as inhabited by "Galatians," just as—according to the "South Galatian" theory—St. Paul does in Gal. iii. 1.

We find it hard to understand how Mr. Williams, after a careful study of this evidence, concludes by saying that "unless St. Paul was, for some special reason, likely to use official terminology, he would more probably use the terms in their more popular and narrow meaning, *viz.* of North Galatia, as we say, and its inhabitants."

We pointed out above that one of the weak spots in Ramsay's arguments was his insistence on the rendering "Phrygo-Galatic" region in Acts xvi. 6. The Textus receptus reads τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν, but authority for the second την is wanting.[2] Now is it true that Φρυγίαν is a substantive, and that consequently we have an impossible combination in "Phrygo-Galatic"? This is always roundly asserted, yet without apparent justification, for the adjective is Φρύγιος.[3] If the second definite article really formed part of the text we could, and

[1] II. xix. 2.

[2] Weymouth, *Resultant Greek Testament*, omits it.

[3] Liddell and Scott in their larger edition give no other form, and cite many passages from classical authors for its use.

perhaps should, render "Phrygia and the Galatic district"; but the article is by common consent omitted, and we seem shut up to the alternatives, "Phrygo-Galatic," or, as Mr. Williams translates it, "'Phrygia and (some) Galatic district,' *i.e.* part of a country belonging to Galatia." But is this latter alternative really acceptable?

E. St. Paul's Attitude towards the Law.

In the *Epistle to the Galatians* St. Paul lays down that (*a*) the Law was superadded to the promise which it did not annul, iii. 17; (*b*) that it only condemns those who transgress it, iii. 19; (*c*) that it was only temporary, iii. 24-25; (*d*) that it did not justify of itself, ii. 16, 19, 21; (*e*) that it was a contract, bilateral and conditional, iii. 12; (*f*) that it was mediately delivered, in contrast to the promise which was delivered immediately by God Himself, iii. 19—this may serve to explain the enigmatical expression: *Now a mediator is not of one, but God is One*, iii. 20, *viz.* that the New Covenant is not a contract, but a free gift, and is thus immediate to the recipient of faith, and not mediate—as was the Law; (*g*) it is in this sense that the Apostle is able to speak of *the weak and beggarly elements*, iv. 9, *cf.* iv. 3, for in the Law there were physical elements, *days, months, times, and years*, iv. 10; there was also rudimentary moral instruction in the elements of revealed religion.[1]

F. St. Paul's rebuke to St. Peter, Gal. ii. 1-17.

Peter had eaten without scruple with the Gentile Christians at Antioch. But "they of the circumcision" now dissuaded him from doing so, and Barnabas also was induced to follow their lead. But St. Paul pointed out that if Peter accommodated himself to the Gentiles he could not logically compel the Gentiles to Judaize. It is true, he says, that we are Jews, and not sinners like the Gentiles; but we realize as Christians that we are not justified from our sins by the Law, but by grace. If, then, we insist on circumcision as being a necessity, that is tantamount to saying that grace is insufficient for our justification, and that we must have in addition the works of the Law.

St. Peter's behaviour involved no question of false doctrine; it was rather a question of human respect, *fearing them who*

[1] *Cf. infra, Theology of the Epistle.* For a discussion of the teaching of the Apostle on the Law in *Romans* and *Galatians* respectively, see St. Jerome on Gal. iv. 1-2 and on Eph. iii. 5-7, *P.L.* XXVI. 369 and 479; also St. Augustine, *Contra Julianum Pelagianum*, III. xxvi (59-66), *P.L.* XLIV. 733.

were of the circumcision. The case of Cornelius had, of course, shown St. Peter that the Gentiles were to be received. But did it follow that they were not to be circumcised? Was it clear that the whole Jewish Law was abrogated in its details, and that Jews could communicate freely with Gentiles simply because both were Christians? We find St. James, for instance, particularly careful not to offend the prejudices of those Jews who had become Christians, *cf.* Acts xv. 20-21, xxi. 18-26. Further, St. Peter's behaviour has nothing whatever to do with the Decree of the Council of Jerusalem which simply regularized the position of the uncircumcised Gentile Christians; it was silent about the relations which were to subsist between the Jewish and Gentile Christians.[1]

This episode gave rise to one of the most interesting minor controversies which marked the opening of the fifth century. Its importance for us lies in the exegetical principles invoked by the disputants. In what precisely consisted the "dissimulation"?

St. Paul says that he withstood St. Peter to the face "because he was to be blamed," inasmuch as, whereas he had hitherto eaten openly with Gentiles, he was now led by fear of the Judaizers to refuse to do so, "fearing them who were of the circumcision." "To his dissimulation," adds the Apostle, "the rest of the Jews consented, so that Barnabas also was led by them into that dissimulation." St. Jerome maintained that the whole scene was a "dissimulation," Peter was not "to be blamed" by Paul, but solely by those brethren whom he had offended by withdrawing from their table; the scene, therefore, was meant to appease both parties, *viz.* those who believed in circumcision—for they could follow Peter, and those who repudiated circumcision—for they could follow Paul. St. Jerome's reasons for holding this view are briefly that Paul could not have withstood Peter, who was his senior, and further that Paul, by circumcising Timothy and shaving his head at Cenchre, was guilty of the same obsequiousness towards Jewish prejudices. Some, he says, try to avoid the dilemma by saying that "Cephas" is not the Apostle Peter, but one

[1] See below on the probable date of the *Epistle to the Galatians.*

of the Seventy disciples,[1] and, moreover, that *Acts* is silent concerning the whole affair. But St. Jerome replies that Cephas and Peter are but Aramaic and Greek forms of the same name; that he knows of no other Cephas than the one who is termed at one time "Cephas," at another "Peter"; and finally, that St. Luke was not bound to mention every event he knew of.[2]

St. Chrysostom's explanation is fundamentally the same as that of St. Jerome. It could not, he urges, have really been a dispute, for this they would have had in private. Therefore "to his face," *κατὰ πρόσωπον*, must be a figure of speech, and the equivalent of "in appearance," *σχῆμα*. The explanation, then, is that Peter withdrew from the table of the uncircumcised converts for two reasons: lest he should offend the Jewish converts, and *in order to give St. Paul an occasion for correcting him.* This correction was necessitated, not because St. Peter was in the wrong, but because those who saw him eat with Jews might fancy he did so out of fear of St. Paul. The latter, of course, had no such feeling. "Paul, then, rebukes, and Peter bears with it; so that while the master is silent under rebuke his disciples may be the more easily induced to put aside their suspicion. . . . Peter, then, joins Paul in this pretence, *συνυποκρίνεται*, as though he were really in fault, so that owing to this rebuke they might be corrected. . . . Thus, by his silence Peter corrected their false suspicions; he put up with the imputation of dissimulation so as, by a real dissimulation, to free the Jews."[3]

This view was strenuously combated by St. Augustine, who pointed out that it made Scripture untruthful.[4] St. Jerome replied that his view was derived from Origen,[5] and that it seemed to him compelling from the twofold consideration that (*a*) Peter knew from the conversion of Cornelius that the Gentiles were to be received into the Church, and

[1] *E.g.* Paschal Chronicle, *P.G.* XCII. 522; so, too, Clement of Alexandria in his lost *Hypotyposes*, according to Eusebius, *H.E.* I. xii. 2.

[2] On Gal. ii. 11 *ff.*, *P.L.* XXVI. 338. This was the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, *cf. H.E.* I. xii. 2.

[3] *Comment. on Gal.* ii, *P.G.* LXI. 640-642; also *Hom.* on Gal. ii. 11 (17), *P.G.* LI. 385.

[4] *Ep.* LXVII. 3-6, *P.L.* XXVI. 648-650.

[5] *Ep.* CXII. 4-6, *P.L.* XXII. 917-919.

(*b*) that St. Paul had done the same in the case of Timothy, and in shaving his own head at Cenchre. Finally, he endeavoured to show that he and Augustine were really saying the same thing in different words.[1] But Augustine declined to accept this statement. The idea that the whole scene was fictitious was repellent to him, since it imperilled the whole truth of Scripture: "Non nunc inquiro quid fecerit, sed quid *scripserit* quæro."[2] "If Peter was doing what he had a right to do, then Paul lied when he said that Peter *walked not uprightly unto the truth of the Gospel. . . .* But if Paul wrote the truth, then it was true that Peter walked not rightly."[3] St. Augustine then shows that the cases of Timothy and the shaving of Paul's head are not parallel with this episode at Antioch;[4] he further points out that in St. Jerome's list of authorities for his view Apollinaris the Laodicean and Alexander are heretics, while Jerome himself acknowledges that there are errors in Origen and Didymus. Augustine's main exegetical point, however, is that the scene at Antioch took place either after or—as he himself at that date seems to have thought merely more probable—before the Council at Jerusalem. If after the Council, then it is to be noticed that whereas the Decrees forbade anyone to compel the Gentile converts to Judaize, they did not prohibit the Jewish converts from Judaizing. If before the Council, then it is not to be wondered at that St. Paul should urge St. Peter to uphold what he had already learnt from the case of Cornelius.[5] But Augustine really based his whole position on the irrefragable veracity of Scripture; again and again in the course of the controversy does he return to the principle that if the scene is fictitious,

[1] *Ep.* CXII. 17, *P.L.* XXII. 927.
[2] *Ep.* CXVI. 7, *P.L.* XXII. 938.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* 8, *cp.* St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, 1*a.* 2*dae.*, ciii. 4 *ad* 2*m.*
[5] *Ep.* CXVI. 10-11. St. Augustine's dispute with St. Jerome on this subject covered approximately the years 402-405, and he only suggests as the more probable view that the scene at Antioch *preceded* the Council. But when arguing against Faustus in A.D. 400 he displays no hesitation on the point: "Paul," he says, "corrected Peter. But *afterwards*, when the Apostles were gathered together, on Peter's own initiative (consilio suo) they decided that the Gentiles should not be compelled to submit to the works of the Law" (*Contra Faustum*, XIX. xvii, *P.L.* XLII. 358).

then we can no longer trust Scripture. It is certainly remarkable that St. Jerome nowhere takes up this point, while his marked descent from acrimony to an unusual suavity in the course of the correspondence seems to indicate that he felt that Augustine's position was really the sounder, though he never sang the *palinodia* for which St. Augustine called![1]

Tertullian repeatedly treats of this episode. He urges that Peter is rebuked for no question of doctrine, but of practical politics, and that in what he did he was blameworthy since he was led to do it through human respect. He further points out that in effect St. Paul did much the same as Peter when he made himself "all things to all men," and that Peter might have retorted to his rebuker that Paul himself had circumcised Timothy, the difference being, of course, that he did so in defiance of human respect. The statement that St. Paul actually circumcised Timothy is of interest, since it shows that Tertullian—as well as St. Irenæus[2]—had in his text of Gal. ii. 5, "Ad horam cessimus subjectioni," and not, as it now stands, "*Neque* ad horam cessimus." Indeed, he roundly accuses Marcion of a "vitiatio" of the text by reading it with the negative "neque." This reading, *i.e.* without the negative, is important for the question of the date of the Epistle.[3]

G. The Date of the Epistle to the Galatians.

There exists what we may term a traditional view that St. Paul wrote to the Galatians in the course of his third missionary journey, and from Ephesus.[4] The Epistle would

[1] See *Epp.* LXVII, CII, CX, CXII, CXVI, *inter Epp. S. Hieronymi*, *P.L.* XXII., also his *Expos. Ep. ad Galatas*, *P.L.* XXXV. 2113-2114; *cp.* St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, 1a. 2dae., civ. 4 *ad* 1m, *Expository Times*, December, 1902. The commentator, M. Victorinus, holds that St. Peter only feigned to accommodate himself to Jewish prejudices, and did not do so in reality, but it is difficult to comprehend this; see his Commentary *inter Opp. Sti. Hier.* XII. (*P.L.* VIII.) 1164. It is a pity Victorinus' Commentary is not better known, if only for the interesting text it presents.

[2] *Adv. Hær.* III. xiii. 3, *P.G.* VII. 912.

[3] *Adv. Marcionem*, V. 3; *cp.* I. 20, IV. 3, and *De Præscriptionibus*, xxiii-xxiv, *P.L.* II. 35-37, 268-269, 364-365, 473.

[4] So Victorinus, *P.L.* VIII. 1145.

thus fall in line with those to the Romans and to the Corinthians. In assigning a date to this Epistle, however, the following points should be borne in mind:

1. Gal. i. 6. The defection of the Galatians is described as "soon" after their conversion.
2. Gal. ii. 1-3. On his second visit to Jerusalem "those who seemed to be something," *viz.* the great Apostles, did not demand the circumcision of Titus, who was a Gentile Christian, but—
3. Gal. ii. 4-5. False brethren indeed did so.
4. Gal. ii. 6-10. The great Apostles endorsed Paul's mission to the "circumcision."
5. Gal. ii. 11-21. St. Paul withstood Cephas at Antioch on this very question of accommodation to the prejudices of Jewish Christians, who wished to uphold the demands of the Law as though it were still binding.

If we now turn to *Acts* we find the following noteworthy points:

1. Acts xiii. 14-xiv. 23. St. Paul's first Galatian mission.
2. Acts xiv. 27. On his return he spent "no small time at Antioch."
3. Acts xv. 1. The faction which demanded circumcision sends emissaries from Jerusalem to Antioch; Paul and Barnabas withstand them there; both sides agree to refer the case to the authorities at Jerusalem.
4. Acts xv. 3-4. On their way they narrate to the Christians in Phœnicia, Samaria, and Jerusalem the marvel of the conversion of the Gentiles.
5. Acts xv. 5. But in Jerusalem some Pharisees who had become Christians demand that these Gentile converts should submit to circumcision.
6. Acts xv. 6. A Council is held on the matter.
7. Acts xv. 7-11. After much disputing Peter answers the question by deciding in favour of liberty. It should be noted that his answer is but a résumé of the very words which St. Paul addressed to him at Antioch, Gal. ii. 11-21.

The following questions present themselves:

1. Was there time between St. Paul's departure from Galatia after his first mission and the holding of the Council at Jerusalem for the defection of the Galatians and for St. Paul's letter to them? That their defection was speedy is clear from Gal. i. 6, *I marvel that you are so soon removed.* And Acts xiv. 27 shows us that he stayed *no small time* at Antioch. This would seem to indicate that between the close of the first missionary journey and the holding of the Council sufficient time had elapsed for the defection of the Galatians.

2. If the Epistle was written previous to the Council, then St. Peter's visit to Antioch must have taken place during this interval; there seems no difficulty in this.

3. If the Epistle was subsequent to the Council, how comes it that in it there is no mention of those very Decrees of the Council which would have solved the whole difficulty?

4. Again, if the Epistle was subsequent to the Council, where are we to find a place for it? For almost immediately after the Council St. Paul went in person to Galatia and delivered to them the apostolic Decrees, Acts xv. 41.

5. If the defection of the Galatians took place after this second visit from the Apostle, then it cannot be described as *soon*.

6. Once more, is the action of the false brethren at Jerusalem, Gal. ii. 4-5, conceivable after the Council?

7. Similarly, is the action of Peter at Antioch conceivable after the Council?

St. Augustine, as we have seen, sometimes shows himself merely inclined to the view that the rebuke administered to St. Peter by St. Paul preceded the Council at Jerusalem, but at another time he takes it for granted. Similarly, St. Paul's silence about the Decrees in his account of that scene seems to make it clear that the *Epistle to the Galatians* as well as the dispute preceded the Council. And this seems more consonant with the facts as depicted in *Acts*. For though, as Augustine points out, the Council only decided that no one was to compel the converts from heathenism to accept the Mosaic Law, yet it is hard to believe that St. Peter would have withdrawn from association with these converts from heathenism after his outspoken words at the Council; and it is also wellnigh incredible that, had that Council already taken place, St. Paul should have made no allusion to Decrees which were so directly in favour of his view. If, then, the Epistle antedated the Council, we should have to refer it to the period between the close of the first missionary journey and the opening of the Council, *viz.* A.D. 48-49. Save, then, the supposition that the North Galatian theory is true, there seems to be absolutely no extrinsic evidence in favour of the later date, *viz.* after the Council, which has hitherto been assigned to this Epistle; indeed, it would almost seem

as though the fact that it is always grouped with the Epistles to the *Romans* and *Corinthians* were the sole ground for assigning it to the same period as those Epistles.

Moreover, evidence for a different order from that to which we are accustomed appears in the fact that the earliest known Syriac list of the Canon of New Testament gives the Epistles in the order *Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Hebrews*.[1] St. Ephraim appears to have had the same order in his Canonical list; at any rate, for the first three Epistles.[2] This precedence of *Galatians* is also clear from Marcion's Canon, the order of which we can deduce from Tertullian's examination of Marcion's treatment of the Pauline Epistles. In the *Fifth Book against Marcion*, chap. i. is devoted to St. Paul himself; ii-iv. to *Galatians;* v-x. to 1 *Corinthians;* xi-xii. to 2 *Corinthians;* xiii-xiv. to *Romans;* xv. to 1 *Thessalonians;* xvi. to 2 *Thessalonians;* xvii-xviii. to *Laodiceans*, which Tertullian identifies with *Ephesians;* xix. to *Colossians;* xx. to *Philippians;* xxi. to *Philemon;* thus accounting for the ten Pauline Epistles which alone Marcion admitted.[3] We saw above that both Irenæus and Tertullian had a text of Gal. ii. 5, which made the Apostle circumcise Timothy; if this reading is the true one, and ours merely a Marcionic "vitiatio," we may well ask whether *St. Paul* would have taken this line subsequent to the Council.[4]

H. The Vocabulary of the Epistle.

Of the thirty-four forms given in Grimm-Thayer as peculiar to this Epistle we need only notice a few: ὀρθοποδέω, ii. 14, appears to occur nowhere else, and may be taken as an example of St. Paul's word-coining; while κεκυρωμένην, in iii. 15, is classical, the form προκεκυρωμένην, iii. 17, seems to be another of the Apostle's creations, whence it passed into Byzantine usage. Μεσίτης, iii. 19-20, is a purely Biblical word, *cf.* 1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. viii. 6, ix. 15, xii. 24, and has, of course, become part of ecclesiastical terminology; the same must be said of κενόδοξος, v. 26, *cf.* κενοδόξια, Phil. ii. 3; φρενεπατᾶ, *cf.* φρενεπάτης,

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[1] *H.D.B.* IV. 647.

[2] Rendel Harris in *Expos. Times*, June, 1907, p. 393, a résumé of Dom De Bruyne's article on the *Marcionitic Prologues* in the *Rev. Bénédictine* for January, 1907.

[3] *P.L.* II. 467-524. Note, too, St. Chrysostom: "It appears to me that the *Epistle to the Galatians* preceded that to the Romans. Nor need we be surprised if the Epistles are given in another order in the Bibles, for the *Twelve Prophets* are placed side by side in the Bible, though belonging to different epochs," *Hom.* I. 1 in *Ep. ad Rom.*, *P.G.* LX. 392.

[4] See also *Expository Times*, 1900, pp. 157 and 568, May, 1907, April, 1910, May to September, 1913, April, 1921; *R.B.*, July, 1907; *J.T.S.*, July, 1912, p. 606. Round, *The Date of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians;* Bird, *Irish Theological Quarterly*, January, 1919.

1 Tim. i. 10, seems also to have been coined by St. Paul; so, too, *ὑπροσωπῆσαι*, vi. 12. *Πορθέω*, i. 13 and 23, is a classical word, but has a peculiar significance here, since it only occurs elsewhere in the parallel passage in Acts ix. 21, thus, so it would seem, establishing a peculiar link between St. Luke's account of the Apostle's conversion and the account here given.

The *Latin text* presents some interesting features: thus *προσαναθέμην* is rendered by "acquievi" in i. 16, and the same verb by "contulerunt" in ii. 6; in the former instance it should rather be translated "take into my counsel."[1] The unusual form *συνιστάνω*, ii. 13, is rendered by "constituo," but elsewhere, 2 Cor. iii. 1, v. 12, x. 12, by "commendare." In iii. 1 "fascinavit" is a perfectly apt rendering of *ἐβάσκανεν*, indeed it is the same word in a Latin dress; in v. 10 and 12 "conturbare" is used to represent alike *ἀναστατοῦντες* and *ταράσσω*; similarly in vi. 9 "deficere" stands for both *ἐκκακῶμεν* and *ἐκλυομένοι*. The most unfortunate instance, however, of the same Latin word being used for different Greek words occurs in vi. 2 and 5, where *βάρη* and *φορτίον* are rendered by "onera" and "onus" respectively, though this involves an apparent contradiction on the Apostle's part; it seems clear that the former refers to burdens from without while the latter refers to those from within.

In iii. 1 the words "non obedire veritati" are omitted in the best Latin and Greek texts; in ii. 14 all the Latin MSS. of importance and most Greek MSS. read "Cephas" instead of "Petro"; in iv. 14 the reading "*my* temptation" in the received Greek text is generally repudiated. The chapter division whereby chap. v. opens with the words "State et . . ." is preferable to the division in the ordinary Greek text, and is supported by all the best Latin MSS. In v. 13 only the Sixtine and Clementine editions have the addition "Spiritus"; similarly the "fruits" of the Spirit are only given as twelve in the Sixtine and Clementine editions, which alone have "patientia, mansuetudo, et castitas" in v. 22-23. On the other hand, in v. 20 *φονόι*, which finds good MSS. support in Greek, is omitted in all Latin MSS.[2]

J. Theology of the Epistle.

God and the Father: God is one, iii. 20; the will of God, i. 4; the grace of, ii. 21; He is "not mocked," vi. 7; His kingdom, v. 21; He has "known" the Galatians, iv. 9; is not an acceptor of persons, ii. 6; His promise, iii. 14-29; it is of the Spirit, iii. 14; through faith, iii. 14, 22; to Abraham, iii. 16; is confirmed, iii. 17; is not by the Law," iii. 18, 21; is to Christ, iii. 19; we are children of the promise, v. 28; God is the Father, i. 1, 3; glory to the Father, i. 5; has sent His Son, iv. 4; also His Spirit, iii. 5, iv. 6; has revealed His Son, i. 16; Christ is dependent on the Father, i. 4; the Father raised

[1] See St. Jerome's Commentary on the two passages, *P.L.* XXVI.

[2] For the Vulgate text see Lagrange, *R.B.*, July, 1917, and also his *Commentary;* also for St. Jerome's share in the production of this version see *Irish Theological Quarterly*, January, 1914.

Christ from the dead, i. 1; we are the children of God by faith in Christ, iii. 26, 29, iv. 5.

The *Christology:* Christ is the Son of God, ii. 20, iv. 4, 7; He is sent by the Father, iv. 4; is made of a woman, iv. 4; made under the Law, iv. 4; is dependent on the Father, i. 4, iv. 4; the promise is by faith in Christ, iii. 22; He is of the seed of Abraham, iii. 16; we are children of God by faith in Christ, iii. 26; He is Lord, i. 3; He gave Himself for us, i. 4, ii. 20; was made a curse, iii. 13; for the deliverance of this world, i. 4; was crucified, iii. 1; redeemed us from the Law, iii. 13, iv. 5; He loved us, ii. 20; did not die in vain, ii. 21; was raised by the Father, i. 1; the grace of Christ, i. 6, vi. 18; His Gospel, i. 7; He revealed it to Paul, i. 12; Christ was revealed to Paul by the Father, i. 16; Paul is His Apostle, i. 1; His servant, i. 10; He is to be preached by Paul, i. 16; the blessing of Abraham is to come to the Gentiles through Christ, iii. 14; the Galatians received Paul as Christ, iv. 14; Paul has confidence in Him, v. 10; the persecution of the Cross of Christ, vi. 12, 14; the marks of Christ, vi. 17; we are nailed to the Cross with Christ, ii. 19; they that are Christ's are crucified, v. 4; we are justified by the faith of Christ, ii. 16; and in Christ, ii. 17; and live in the faith of Christ, ii. 20; and thus are children of God, iii. 26; the Law is a pedagogue to Christ, iii. 24; He is no profit to the circumcised, v. 2, 4; we must fulfil the Law of Christ, vi. 2; are baptized in Christ, iii. 27; and so have put on Christ, iii. 27; and are all one in Christ, iii. 28; and are all His, iii. 29; He lives in us, ii. 20; the Galatians must have Christ formed in them, iv. 19.

The *Holy Spirit:* The promise of, iii. 14; is sent by the Father, iii. 5, iv. 6; received by faith, not by the Law, iii. 2; we hope for justification in the Spirit, v. 5;[1] we must walk in the Spirit, v. 16; and be led by it, v. 16; the flesh and the Spirit are opposed, v. 17; the fruits of the Spirit, v. 22-23; we must live in the Spirit, v. 25; and must sow in it, vi. 8.

The Position of the Law: The works of the Law do not justify a man, ii. 16, 21, iii. 11, 21; the Spirit is not given by the Law, iii. 2, 5; nor are miracles worked because of the works of the Law, iii. 5; heirship to the promise is not by the Law, iii. 18; the Law does not give life, iii. 21; it is but "weak and needy elements," iv. 9; those who are under the works of the Law are under a curse, iii. 10; we are redeemed from the curse of the Law, iii. 13, iv. 5; the Law does not disannul the testament nor the promise, iii. 17; the Law was set for transgressions, iii. 19; through the Law we are dead to the Law, ii. 19; the Law is our pedagogue to Christ, iii. 23-25; the Law is figured by the son of the bondwoman, iv. 22-31; after the advent of faith the Law is useless, v. 2-6; all the Law is comprised in love of our

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[1] In this and the following verses referred to it is hard to decide whether it is question of the Holy Spirit or the sanctified human spirit which is in question. Some editions of the Greek Testament, *e.g.* Weymouth's *Resultant Greek Testament*, print "Spirit" as opposed to "spirit" in vi. 18.

neighbour, v. 14; they that are of the circumcision do not keep the Law, vi. 13; the Law we have to fulfil is that of Christ, vi. 2.

Faith: Is not the justifying principle of the Law, iii. 12; is to be revealed, iii. 23; it deposes the Law, iii. 13-29; it justified Abraham, iii. 6-18; faith in Christ justifies, ii. 16, 20, iii. 22, iv. 5-6; it enables us to receive the Spirit, iii. 2, 5, 14; is the fruit of the Spirit, v. 23; the faith is revealed to St. Paul, i. 12, 16, 23.

K. Bibliography.

In addition to the Dictionaries and the Commentaries on all the Epistles, *e.g.* those of Cornelius à Lapide and Estius, there are the Patristic Commentaries—those, namely, of Victorinus, *P.L.* VIII. (XII), of St. Jerome (*P.L.* XXVI), and of St. Augustine (*P.L.* XXXV); these are both valuable, but, of course, no one reads them nowadays! From the Greeks we have the Commentaries of St. Chrysostom (*P.G.* LX.) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (*ed.* Swete, 1880). These four Commentaries are extraordinarily different from one another, and may be said to cover between them the entire field. It is to be regretted that, save for a fragment on i. 1 and 11-12 given in Delarue, we have nothing of Origen's left. The same applies to the numerous writers on the Epistle to whom St. Jerome refers (*Prol. to Comment. on Galatians*). A full account of the patristic writers on the Epistle is given by Lightfoot in his Commentary, 1865, and often since. Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on the Galatians, 2nd ed.*, 1900, chiefly consists in introductory matter and disquisitions on certain points, but it is valuable. The *Cambridge Greek Testament, Galatians*, 1910, is exceedingly practical. Lagrange, O.P., *Épître aux Galates*, 1918. De Witt Burton, *Galatians*, in the *International Critical Commentary*.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS

A. The Group of Epistles written from Rome.
B. Analysis of the Epistle.
C. The Theme of the Epistle.
D. The Church to which it was addressed.
E. The Canonicity and Authenticity of the Epistle.
F. The Vocabulary—The Vulgate Text.
G. The Theological Teaching.
H. Bibliography.

A. The Epistles written from Rome.

This Epistle forms one of the group known as the "Roman" Epistles written by St. Paul. The *Epistles* to the *Colossians* and to *Philemon* were apparently despatched at the same time. Thus note the words about Tychicus, the bearer of *Ephesians* and *Colossians* alike; they are almost identical in Eph. vi. 21-22 and in Col. iv. 7-8. That the *Epistle to Philemon* dates from the same period may follow from the parallel reference to St. Luke in Col. iv. 14 and Philem. 24. St. Jerome repeatedly says: "When in chains at Rome he sent this Epistle (to the Ephesians) at the same time as those to Philemon, to the Colossians, and to the Philippians."[1] Recent criticism is inclined to separate the *Epistle to the Philippians* from the other three; but there is still much discussion as to whether that Epistle preceded them or followed them.[2] Of late years, too, there has been an endeavour to refer these Epistles to the Apostle's earlier captivity at Cæsarea rather than to his first Roman captivity. That the Apostle was in prison is repeatedly

[1] On Eph. iii. 1, vi. 21, and Philem. 24, *P.L.* XXVI. 477, 553, 617.
[2] See *Introduction* to the *Epistle to the Philippians*.

stated in these Epistles,[1] but there is no definite assertion that this imprisonment was at Rome. The arguments adduced, however, in favour of Cæsarea as the place whence they were written are hardly worth refuting;[2] it will be sufficient to point out that we have no hint afforded us that St. Paul's captivity at Cæsarea was of so free a character as to enable him to receive Onesimus, while this is precisely the feature of the Roman captivity as depicted by St. Luke.[3] Still more recently[4] Ephesus has been upheld as the place of imprisonment whence St. Paul wrote the Epistles of the "captivity"; such passages as 2 Cor. i. 8-9, xi. 23, 1 Cor. xv. 30-32, are cited in support of the view, while Renan's old theory that the salutations in Rom. xvi really belong to the *Epistle to the Ephesians* has been invoked as affording confirmatory evidence on the strange ground that it would be easier to understand Rom. xvi. 7 of a captivity in Asia than in Rome. It must be confessed that these arguments are more specious than convincing.[5]

The Asia Minor of St. Paul's day seems very remote from us, and we are, perhaps, too apt to regard as wild and desolate the country through which the Apostle passed, and out of which he chose for the scene of his labours just those districts which gave promise of fruitful foundations. This is, of course, a radically false notion. Rightly to appreciate the Epistles directed to Asia, whether by St. Paul, St. Peter, or St. James, we must think in terms of Proconsular Asia, of the Provinces of Asia, Galatia, etc., rather than of the classical geographical divisions into Asia, Caria, Mysia, Phrygia, etc. We must think of that vast land—which we now call Asia Minor—as containing, in addition to the native populations, *viz.* Lydians, Carians, Phrygians, etc., a

[1] Eph. iii. 1, iv. 1; Col. i. 24, iv. 3, 18; Philem. 9, 10, 13.

[2] See Hort, *Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians*, pp. 99-110.

[3] Acts xxviii.

[4] This idea is by no means so modern as its upholders are inclined to think, for Primasius, *c.* 550, takes it for granted in the *Argumentum* which he prefixes to his brief *Commentary on Colossians:* "The Apostle," he says, "already a prisoner, writes to them from Ephesus," *P.L.* LXVIII. 651.

[5] See *Expositor*, June and October, 1915, *Expos. Times*, January, 1911, also Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, Engl. tr., pp. 229-230. In favour of Rome as the place whence these Epistles were written, see Zahn, *Introduction*, I. 443-447.

vast body of Jews of the dispersion, as well as Greek merchants and Latin colonists. Hellenic influence in these countries was widespread; Greek speech and Greek culture had found their way even into remote districts, and Alexander the Great's imperial notions had at least had the result of making Asia Minor a link between East and West. The Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, among whom Alexander's empire was divided, were in the main responsible for this spread of Greek ideas and literature.[1] Nor should we forget the all-pervading influence of the Greek Bible. Its share in what Eusebius would call the *Præparatio Evangelica* can never be exaggerated. The Romans, of course, were the governing people; theirs was the legislative system which secured tranquillity to the various national elements which went to make up the whole.[2] Thus the Churches of Asia were by no means in the background nor off the beaten track. Colossæ was well-known to Roman officials; Cicero himself was several times at Laodicea,[3] while Hierapolis was the birth-place of Epictetus who was St. Paul's contemporary. That the Jewish population was large and influential we learn from Josephus, he tells us that the magistrates of Laodicea sent to the Consul in the time of Hyrcanus, the High Priest, to say that the latter had applied for freedom for the Jews in Laodicea to observe the Sabbath;[4] Josephus also tells us that Antiochus Epiphanes ordered the transportation of no less than two thousand Jewish families into Phrygia with a view to quelling a disturbance there.[5]

[1] For the civilization of Asia Minor at this period see Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, the Church in the Roman Empire, Historical Geography of Asia Minor, Cities and Bishops of Phrygia,* and *Roads and Travel in N.T.* in *H.D.B. Extra,* p. 375; also Schurer, *H.J.P.* II. ii; and for Laodicea, *ibid.* I. i. and II. i.

[2] "The world," says St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* IV. xxx. 2, *P.G.* VII. 1066, "has peace through the Romans, and we too walk along the roads and sail the seas without fear whithersoever we will."

[3] Lightfoot, *Colossians,* p. 7.

[4] *Ant.* XIV. x. 20.

[5] *Ibid.* XII. iii. 4.

B. Analysis of the Epistle.

A. i. 1-2. *Opening formula.*

B. i. 3-iii. 21. *The dogmatic portion of the Epistle.*

(*a*) Blessed be God Who hath blessed us in Christ, in Whom He chose us and predestined us to the sonship of adoption, and through Whom we have redemption and remission of sins, so that God may *re-establish all things in Christ*, i. 3-14.

(*b*) Therefore, having heard of the faith and charity of the Ephesians, the Apostle prays that they may attain to *the knowledge of Christ* and to a realization of the power of Him Who *raised Him from the dead*, and Who, subjecting all things under Him, made Him the *Head of the Church which is His body*, i. 15-23.

(*c*) What this mystery of predestination through Christ has meant for them, and indeed for all, ii. 1-22.

(i.) ii. 1-10. We were dead; we were raised up; we were saved by grace and not by works.

(ii.) ii. 11-22. Wherefore, whereas we were formerly *without Christ* and strangers to the testament, we are now *in Christ;* for He is our peace Who in His own body has reconciled the Gentile and the Jew, so that henceforward we are no longer *strangers*, but *built up together into an inhabitation of God in the Spirit.*

(*d*) The practical outcome of this, iii. 1-21.

(i.) iii. 1-12. The Apostle is the minister of this mystery, namely, that *the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs of the same body and co-partners of God's promise in Christ Jesus by the Gospel.*

(ii.) iii. 13-21. They are not then to be dismayed at his tribulations, which are their glory (*cf.* iii. 1), but must see that Christ dwell by faith and charity in their hearts that so they may arrive at *the fulness of God.*

C. iv. 1-vi. 9. *The moral teaching of the Epistle.*

(*a*) They must be careful to keep the bond of unity, and this despite the diversity of gifts with which Christ hath dowered the various members of His body, the Church, iv. 1-16.

(*b*) They must no longer be like the Gentiles, but must put off the old man and put on the new. Thus they must put aside lying, anger, stealing, and evil speech, and must learn to be merciful and forgiving, *even as God hath forgiven you in Christ.* Impurity, too, and obscenity they must put away, nor must they be drunken nor have fellowship with the works of darkness, for they are now *light in the Lord*, iv. 17-v. 20.

(*c*) Certain special features in their moral life are dwelt upon: they must be subject to one another, v. 21-vi. 9.

(i.) v. 22-33. Wives to their husbands, *as to the Lord;* and husbands must love their wives, *as Christ also*

loved the Church; for there is a parity between the Sacrament of Matrimony, whereby a man cleaves to his wife, and the mystic espousals between Christ and His Church.

(ii.) vi. 1-4. Children must also be subject to their parents *in the Lord;* parents, likewise, are to correct them with the *correction of the Lord.*

(iii.) vi. 5-9. Servants, again, are to obey *as to Christ;* masters are to know that *the Lord both of them and you is in heaven.*

D. vi. 10-24. *The conclusion of the Epistle.*

(*a*) A final address on the life of the Christian soldier. He is to *put on the armour of God,* his loins must be girt with the *truth,* he must carry the breastplate of *justice,* his feet must be shod with the preparation of the *Gospel of peace,* he must bear the shield of *faith,* the helmet of *salvation,* and the sword of the *Spirit.* He is to pray at all times, and especially for the Apostle himself, that he may *make known the mystery of the Gospel* for which he is a prisoner, vi. 10-20.

(*b*) Tychicus, the bearer, will give them all news of him. His parting salutation, vi. 21-24.

C. The Theme of the Epistle.

The General Theme of the Epistle may be briefly stated thus: Chap. i. The predestination of the faithful according to God's plan, *viz.* through Christ and His Church. Chap. ii. The Gentiles to whom he writes have been brought into the true fold through Christ. Chap. iii. The Apostle has been called by Christ to lead the Gentiles to Christ and to teach them the true knowledge of Christ. Chap. iv. This true knowledge is only to be acquired, and thus preserved, in the Church of Christ. Hence they are to value the unity of this Church and are to clothe themselves in its Spirit. Chap. v-vi. 9. A description of the true Christian in different states of life. Chap. vi. 10-24. The true Christian life for all. The whole Epistle may be fittingly termed a commentary on the *Gloria in Excelsis.*

Both in this Epistle and in the sister *Epistle to the Colossians* the Apostle insists much on the Headship of Christ; but whereas in *Colossians* he dwells on Christ and the universe, in *Ephesians* he dwells on Christ and the Church; in the former he sets forth the "fulness" of God, in the latter the "fulness" of the Church; in the former the Holy

Spirit is little referred to, in the latter we find constant reference to Him.

But while the Epistle to the Ephesians is one of a group, it stands apart from the other members of the group by reason of its extraordinary profundity. Of this Epistle St. Jerome says: "We approach now the Apostle's 'middle' Epistle, 'middle,' that is, in place and in meaning. But when I say 'middle' I do not mean that it follows upon the first and is greater than the last Epistles; but I call it 'middle' in the same way as an animal's heart is its middle. This will show you how great are the difficulties and how profound the problems this Epistle enshrines."[1] Again, commenting on iii. 1 *ff.*: "As we said in the *Preface*, none of St. Paul's Epistles contains such profound mysteries, none is so replete with deep meanings as this one."[2] It might almost seem that the comparative tranquillity he now enjoyed in enforced idleness—as far, that is, as St. Paul ever could be idle—had thrown him back on fundamental truths, *e.g.* the counsel of God, our predestination, the mystery of the call of the Gentiles, the consequent upheaval of all previous Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament, the position of the Church, the doctrine of the Incarnation with all its unplumbed depths of consequences for the world. Thoughts such as these formed the staple of his meditations, and presumably of his daily preachings to those who came to him; naturally enough, too, they form the theme of his Letters.

Certain theological terms should be noted in this context, *e.g.* "grace," χάρις, i. 6, 7, ii. 5, etc.; "predestine," προορίζω, i. 11; "mystery" or "sacrament," μυστήριον, i. 9, iii. 3, 4, 9, v. 32, vi. 19, *cp.* Col. i. 26, 27, ii. 2, iv. 3; "the heavenly (places)," ἐπουράνιοι, i. 3, 20, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12. And as a species of corollary to this, note how often the word "peace" occurs, i. 2, ii. 14, 15, 17, iv. 3. vi. 15, 23. It is the seal of that "new life" which the pondering of such profound doctrines demands as a necessary consequence, *cf.* iii. 14 v. 21.

Fellowship with Christ may be called the keynote of this Epistle, as of the rest which date from this first Roman

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[1] *Preface* to his *Commentary on Ephesians*, *P.L.* XXVI. 441.

[2] On iii. 1; *cp. Prologue* to Book III. of the same *Commentary*, *P.L.* XXVI. 48, 478, 513; also *Adv. Jovin.* I. 23, *P.L.* XXIII. 276; *cp.*, too, St. Chrysostom, *Prologue* to his *Homilies on Ephesians*, *P.G.* LXII. 10.

imprisonment of the Apostle. This is brought out not so much in positive statements as in the striking use of verbs and nouns compounded with *σύν*.

These compounds are generally faithfully rendered in the Vulgate, though it is wellnigh impossible to do so in an English version. Thus note *συγκαθίζω*, Eph. ii. 6, Luke xxii. 55; *συζωοποιέω*, Eph. ii. 5, Col. ii. 13*;[1] *συμβιβάζω*, Eph. iv. 16, Col. ii. 2, 19*; *σύσσωμα*, Eph. iii. 6*; *συνοικοδομέομαι*, Eph. ii. 22*; *συνεγείρω*, Eph. ii. 6, Col. ii. 13, iii. 1*; *συναρμολογέομαι*, Eph. ii. 21, iv. 16*; *σύνδεσμος*, Acts viii. 33, Eph. iv. 3, Col. ii. 10, iii. 14*; *συστρατιώτης*, Phil. ii. 25, Philem. 2*; *συμμέτοχος*, Eph. iii. 6, v. 7*; *συμμιμητής*, Phil. iii. 17*; *σύμμορφος*, Rom. viii. 29, Phil. iii. 21*; *συμμορφόομαι*, Phil. iii. 10*; *συμπαραμένω*, Phil. i. 25*; *συμπολίτης*, Eph. ii. 19*; *συναθλέω*, Phil. i. 27 iv. 3*; *συναιχμάλωτος*, Rom. xvi. 7, Col. iv. 14, Philem. 23*. Note, too, the constant references to the Christian life as being "*in* Christ," i. 1, 3-6, 10, 12, 15, 20, ii. 5, 7, 10, 13, iii. 6, 11, 21, iv. 17, 21, 32, v. 32, vi. 10, 21.

In harmony with the above is the constant reference already mentioned to "peace" which is so noticeable here; thus Christ "is our peace," ii. 14, by His Cross He maketh peace, ii. 15, and so "preaches peace," ii. 17. Hence we are to be careful to "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," iv. 3, and our feet are "shod with the Gospel of peace," vi. 15; finally, the Apostle's salutation is "peace to the brethren," vi. 23. The same note is struck in the constant allusion to "the heavenly (places or things)"; God hath "blessed us with spiritual blessings in the heavenlies," i. 3, and has placed Christ "at His right hand in the heavenlies," i. 20, where also He has made us to sit through Christ, ii. 6; to the principalities and powers in the heavenlies the wisdom of God is to be made known through the Church, iii. 10, *cp.*, too, vi. 9 and 12.[2]

The striking passage in ii. 12-15, where Christ is described as "breaking down the middle wall of partition," *viz.* between the Jews and the Gentiles, is aptly illustrated by the inscription discovered by Clermont Ganneau; see Vol. II, p. 51.

St. Jerome's *Prologue* to the first book of his commentary on this Epistle is noteworthy as affording us an insight into his methods of study:

[1] The * signifies that this form occurs nowhere else in the New Testament.

[2] See *Expos. Times*, May, 1912.

"If there is aught, O Paula and Eustochium, which can detain a wise man in this life and induce him to preserve his even balance of mind amidst the tribulations and disturbances of this world, it is—as I think—knowledge of Scripture and meditation thereon. . . . It is a far better thing to read Holy Scripture than to strive to increase one's wealth. . . . From my youth up I have never ceased from reading or from enquiring of learned men what I myself was ignorant of; for, unlike many others, I have not been simply my own master. Indeed, it was mainly for this very purpose that I went quite lately to Alexandria; for I went to see Didymus and ask his advice on difficulties I come across and which covered the whole field of the Scriptures. For while it is one thing to compose works of one's own, for instance on *Avarice*, on *Faith*, on *Virginity*, on *Widows*, etc., and when treating of these subjects to combine a certain profane eloquence with the piecing together of stray passages taken from various portions of Scripture, it is, however, quite another thing to enter into the very mind of a Prophet or Apostle, to discover why they wrote, on what they based their teaching, what part in the old Law is played by the Idumæans, the Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Philistines, Egyptians and Assyrians, or in the New Testament by the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Thessalonians, Hebrews, Colossians, and by those very Ephesians to whom our present Epistle is addressed. For it must needs be that these Epistles had different causes, arguments, and origins according to the varying circumstances of time and place at which they were written, and indeed of the people themselves to whom they were written. For just as the Blessed John in his *Apocalypse* wrote to the Seven Churches, and in each of them reproved their peculiar vices or praised their peculiar virtues, so, too, the holy Apostle Paul sets out to heal the wounds of every individual Church, nor attempts, like some unskilled physician, to cure every eye with one and the same ointment."[1]

Jerome then proceeds to illustrate this point by showing that the Diana who is mentioned in Acts xix is not the huntress, but the many-breasted Cybele of Asia. And he links up this *Epistle to the Ephesians* with Acts xix by showing how naturally in this Epistle St. Paul comes to treat of idolatry, since Acts xix has shown us to what extent the Ephesians were steeped in it.

St. Jerome also points out the remarkable difference in tone between the Epistles to the Corinthians and that to the Ephesians. Thus apropos of Eph. v. 24 he says:

"We must note that there was a great difference between the Corinthians and the Ephesians. To the former St. Paul wrote as to 'babes and sucklings,' among whom dissensions and schisms prevailed, and of whom 'it is heard that there is such fornication as the like is

[1] *P.L.* XXVI. 440.

not among the heathen.' . . . But the Ephesians receive quite other teaching from him, for he had dwelt with them for the space of three years, and had opened up to them all the mysteries of Christ. Moreover, each one always retains his own free will—he can follow either the Corinthians or the Ephesians; he can be saved by slavery at Corinth or by liberty at Ephesus."[1]

The same feature appealed to St. Ambrose who in his summary of this Epistle[2] dwells particularly on the fact that "no other Epistle so abounds in the blessings which it invokes on the people of God." St. Chrysostom would imply that this "mellowness" of tone is due to the fact that these Epistles of the captivity were written when the Apostle was sanctified by his "bonds," and that they therefore took on a peculiar dignity.[3]

D. To whom was the Epistle addressed?

We learn from Acts xix. 8-10 that St. Paul spent at least two years and three months in Ephesus. But it seems clear from Eph. i. 15, iii. 2-4, that he was not personally known to the recipients of this Epistle. And it is a remarkable fact that the words "at Ephesus" are omitted from i. 1, in the two great Codices, ℵ and *B*, *i.e. Sinaiticus* and *Vaticanus*. St. Basil, too,[4] as also Origen in his commentary,[5] omit these words. Tertullian also informs us that Marcion read "at Laodicea" instead of "at Ephesus."[6] The *Epistles to the Ephesians* and to the *Colossians* are certainly sister-Epistles,[7] for their subject-matter is the same, and Tychicus[8] was the bearer of them both. But the two Churches of Colossæ and Laodicea were side by side in the Lycus valley. When, then, St. Paul tells the Colossians, iv. 16, to send their Epistle to the Church of the Laodiceans and to *read that which is of the Laodiceans*, it is easy to jump to the conclusion that this Epistle to the Laodiceans was the very

[1] *Comment.* on Eph. v. 24, *P.L.* XXVI. 531.
[2] *Ep.* LXXVI., *P.L.* XVI. 1259-1263.
[3] *Hom.* I. in *Ep. ad Coloss.*, *P.G.* LXII. 300.
[4] *Contra Eunomium*, II. 19.
[5] See next page, note 5.
[6] *Adv. Marcion.*, V. 11 and 17.
[7] For further discussion of their relationship see *Introduction* to *Colossians*.
[8] Eph. vi. 21, Col. iv. 7.

one which we now know as the *Epistle to the Ephesians*. But it should be noticed that St. Paul does not explicitly say that he has written to the Laodiceans; he only tells the Colossians to read the Epistle which will come to them *from* the Laodiceans, as though it were not so much an Epistle addressed to them as one which they were to pass on from Church to Church; in other words, a circular letter. That no Epistle had been written to the Laodiceans themselves may be plausibly deduced from the fact that St. Paul sends his salutations to them in his Letter to the Colossians.

In favour of the traditional view that the Epistle was really addressed to the Ephesians it must be noted that MSS. evidence is overwhelming; for with the exception of ℵ and *B* and one cursive MS., 67, every MS. and version has the words "at Ephesus." The patristic evidence is equally positive: St. Ignatius writes to the Ephesians, xii., *Paul in the whole of his Epistle is mindful of you in Christ*—not *in every Epistle*, as some render it, see below. The Canon of Muratori enumerates this Epistle as "ad Ephesios secunda," and also mentions that to the *Laodiceans* as spurious.[1] Irenæus refers to it many times as St. Paul's, and once at least[2] refers to it as "to the Ephesians." At the same time it is certain that copies circulated in which the words "at Ephesus" were wanting, see above for St. Basil and Origen. Tertullian, too, who reproaches Marcion for reading "at Laodicea," could hardly have had the words "*in Ephesus*" in his copies when he said, "We hold this Epistle to have been written to the Ephesians,"[3] and when he insisted that "we have it on the true tradition of the Church that this Epistle was sent to the Ephesians."[4] Origen[5] discusses the meaning of the expression, *the Saints that are*, "which," he says, "occurs only in *Ephesians*," and he suggests a comparison with Exod. iii, "I am Who am." But the most impressive testimony is that of St. Jerome, who certainly had not the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in his text, though the printed editions of his commentary have "Sanctis qui sunt

[1] Vol. II., p. 89, and *cf.* Zahn, *Introduction*, I., pp. 481-484.
[2] *Adv. Hær.*, V. xiv. 3.
[3] *Adv. Marcionem*, V. xi. [4] *Ibid.* xvii.
[5] In Cramer's *Catena*, quoted by Hort, *Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians*, p. 76, note; Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, pp. 378 *ff.*

Ephesi." Jerome's commentary is unintelligible if he had the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in his Greek text, for he remarks that "some fancy that just as it was said to Moses: Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: *He Who is* hath sent me to you, so those who are at Ephesus are termed essentially Saints and Faithful. . . . Others, however, explain that the words are addressed, not to those who are . . . but to those *at Ephesus* who are Saints,"[1] etc. St. Jerome thus knows solely from tradition that the Epistle was addressed to the Ephesians; he did not know it from the Greek text of Eph. i. 1. We have, then, the strange complication that whereas the earliest Fathers knew that the Epistle was addressed to the Ephesians, they yet derived their knowledge from tradition alone, and the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ were wanting in the majority of texts. But over against this is the fact that only three of our present MSS. omit the words and that every version has them. That the words in question should be speedily inserted by copyists was inevitable.

Granting, then, that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ were not in St. Paul's autograph, what explanation can we give of the expression "to the Saints that are"? For it hangs in the air. Putting aside Origen's suggestion, we seem compelled to suppose that the Epistle really was an encyclical one, and that a gap was left for the reader to insert the name of the Church to which he might at the moment be reading it. An examination of the Epistle itself will show that this conclusion is almost necessitated by its character. For if we reflect upon the intimate relations between St. Paul and the Ephesian Church as portrayed in Acts xviii-xix, we shall have to acknowledge that our present Epistle is very different from what we should have expected an Epistle from the founder of the Ephesian Church to have been. In the first place, St. Paul associates no one with him in writing, yet in *Colossians* and *Philemon*, which were despatched at the same time, he associates Timothy with himself, while the bearer of both *Colossians* and *Ephesians* was Tychicus. It is wellnigh incredible that neither Timothy nor Tychicus should have been known to the Ephesian Church. More remarkable still, there are no "salutations" at the close,

[1] On Eph. i. 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 443-444. Hort, *l.c.*, seems to have missed this point.

though the Apostle is supposed to be writing to the Church in which he laboured the longest! Both these features, it must be confessed, make for the view that the Letter was an "encyclical," and was to be read in various Churches where the Apostle and his disciples might or might not be known. When we now turn to the passages indicated above where the Apostle seems to speak as though he was not personally acquainted with them, *viz.* i. 15, iii. 2, iv. 21, we can see that such statements become intelligible on the hypothesis that the Letter was to be read in various Churches and to people who might be more or less instructed.[1] And when we turn to the body of the Epistle, the contrast between it and such Epistles as those to Corinth, to Philippi, to Thessalonica and to the Galatian Churches, becomes still more marked. These latter Epistles are full of personal touches; the voice of the "Founder" speaks throughout. There is nothing of the kind in our Ephesian Epistle; there is hardly a personal touch throughout.

The real difficulty lies in the traditional identification of this circular letter with the Ephesian Church. No doubt it was read to them as to other Churches; but how has it come to pass that it has been traditionally appropriated to them? It is possible that the metropolitan character of Ephesus may have had something to do with it. We know that from Ephesus the faith spread to all Asia,[2] and St. Paul's convocation of the elders of the Ephesian Church at Miletus[3] shows us how extended was its influence. As far as is known, no one save Marcion endeavoured to attach this Epistle to the Laodicean Church; he may have been led to do so by the reference in *Colossians* to the Epistle *from* the Laodiceans, but in so doing he broke away, as Tertullian points out, from all tradition.[4]

[1] See, for instance, Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*, p. 37.

[2] Acts xix. 10. [3] Acts xx. 17.

[4] For the *Epistle to the Laodiceans* see *Bulletin d'Archéologie et Littérature Chrétienne*, January and April, 1911, *Expos. Times*, April, 1908. The apocryphal Epistle circulated under this title is published by Nestle in his *Greek and Latin New Testament*. In the Vulgate Codex *Fuldensis* this *Epistle to the Laodiceans* is given after *Colossians;* see Scrivener-Miller, II. 75. In *R.B.*, 1902, pp. 573 *ff.*, Ladeuze endeavours, by the aid of a daring textual emendation, to make the recipients of *Ephesians*

There are two further features in this Epistle which should not be neglected since they affect the question of the identity of its recipients.

First, it is possible to trace a certain similarity between St. Paul's address to the Ephesian Churches assembled at Miletus[1] and the *Epistle to the Ephesians*. Thus compare the expression *μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης*, Acts xx. 19 and Eph. iv. 2; *cp.* Phil. ii. 3, Col. ii. 18, 23, iii. 12, 1 Pet. v. 5; so, too, *περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδιόυ*, Acts xx. 28 and Eph. i. 7 and 14, and 1 Pet. ii. 9. Note, too, the use of such words as *οἰκοδομέω* and *κληρονομία*, Acts xx. 32 and Eph. ii. 20, 21, iv. 12, 16, 29, i. 14, 18, v. 5, Col. iii. 24 and 1 Pet. i. 4.

Further, we learn from Acts xix. 19 that the Ephesians were much given to magical arts; the constant reference in our Epistle to "the heavenly" things or powers or places, to the spiritual powers against which we have to struggle, i. 21-22, vi. 12-16, and to secret and presumably magical practices, v. 6-7, 11-12, should not be overlooked. St. Jerome twice refers to this in his *Commentary* on the Epistle, first of all in the *Prologue*,[2] where he opines that the "great door and evident"[3] which the Apostle saw open to him refers to the campaign against the powers of evil at Ephesus, and again on chap. vi., where he apologises for his lengthy exposition of vers. 10-12 on the plea that "the Ephesians were much given to magical arts."[4]

E. The Authorship and Canonicity.

The authorship and canonicity of the Epistle have never been seriously called in question. We find convincing proof of acquaintance with it in the writings of the apostolic Fathers and their immediate successors. Thus Tatian can hardly have written of "the breastplate of the Spirit of the heavenly places" without having in mind Eph. vi. 14 *ff.*[5] St. Polycarp, too, whose *Epistle to the Philippians* is a cento of references to, or even direct quotations from, the New Testament, is acquainted with *Ephesians;* thus *cp.*:

Polycarp i.	*Eph.* ii. 8-9.
Εἰδότες ὅτι χάριτι ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων.	Τῇ γὰρ χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι . . . οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων.

And if any doubt of his personal knowledge of the Epistle could exist, it must be dissipated by a comparison of *Poly-*

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dwellers in a district of N.E. Asia Minor known as Irin. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 229, takes it for granted that our present *Ephesians* was really written to the Laodiceans.

[1] Acts xx. [2] *P.L.* XXVI. 442.
[3] 1 Cor. xvi. 9. [4] *P.L.* XXVI. 549.
[5] *Cohort. ad Græcos*, xvi, *P.G.* VI. 841, *θώρακι γὰρ πνεύματος ἐπουρανίου.*

carp xii. and Eph. iv. 26, for St. Paul there quotes Ps. iv., "Be angry and sin not," with the added warning, "Let not the sun go down on your wrath"; when, then, St. Polycarp quotes both these clauses together, it is clear that he must have read our Epistle.[1] It is the same with St. Clement of Rome, who, in his teaching on mutual subjection,[2] seems to refer directly to Eph. v. 31, while in chap. xlvi we have what amounts to a quotation of Eph. iv. 4-6.[3] Similarly St. Ignatius of Antioch betrays a personal acquaintance with our Epistle. For Ignatius wrote to the Ephesian Church on his way to Rome and to martyrdom, and it is no exaggeration to say that his letter to them is steeped in St. Paul's *Epistle to the Ephesians*. It is not so much that he quotes it as that its phraseology has become his own, and he uses it when writing to these same Ephesians because he knows that it will be familiar to them.

Thus in the *Prologue* note (*τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*) *τῇ ἐυλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθαι θεοῦ πατρὸς* (*καὶ*) *πληρώματι, τῇ προωρισμένῃ πρὸ αἰώνων*, and *cp.* Eph. i. 3-4, iii. 11, 19; in chap. i. *μιμηταὶ ὄντες, cp.* Eph. v. 1; in chap. i. also he speaks of Christ as *τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκόντος θεῷ προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν, cp.* Eph. v. 2; note, too, the references to "the heavenly" (things), *ἐπουρανίων*, chap. xiii, as so often in *Ephesians*. More than all he speaks of the Ephesians as *Παύλου συμμύσται*, chap. xii., with clear reference to the doctrine of the "mystery" into which they had been initiated by him, Eph. i. 9, iii. 3, 4, 9. Finally, in the same section we have the expression "Paul," *ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν*, which must apparently be rendered "in the *whole* of his Epistle," and not "in *every* Epistle," for this would seemingly require *ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*,[4] a statement which would be patently contrary to facts.[5]

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[1] *Polycarp* xii.

'Οργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε, ΚΑι, ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν.

Eph. iv. 26.

'Οργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε· ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν.

[2] *Cp.* 1 *Clem.* ii. and xxxviii. with Eph. v. 21.

[3] 1 *Clem.* xlvi.: 'Η οὐχὶ ἕνα θεὸν ἔχομεν καὶ ἕνα Χριστόν; καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν (Rom. v. 5) ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ μία κλῆσις ἐν Χριστῷ.

[4] Thus *cp.* 2 Pet. iii. 16.

[5] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II. ii. 1, dissents from this, so, too, Hort, *Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians*, p. 113. For St. Peter's familiarity with this Epistle see *Introduction* to the *Epistle to the Romans* and to 1 *Peter*. For a defence of the authenticity of the Epistle against recent attacks see Coppieters in *R.B.*, July, 1912.

F. The Vocabulary.

As in each of St. Paul's Epistles there occur in *Ephesians* certain unusual words, often indeed words coined by him to meet the necessities of the case, *e.g.*, ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ii. 20, *cf.* 1 Pet. ii. 6; ἀνεξιχνίαστος, iii. 8, Rom. xi. 33; ἀνθρωποπάρεσκος, vi. 6, Col. ii. 22; ἀπαλγέω, iv. 19; ἐξισχύω, iii. 18; ἐπιχορηγία, iv. 16, Phil. i. 10, the verb is frequent in the New Testament; κατοικητήριον, ii. 22, Apoc. xviii. 2; μεθοδεία, iv. 14, vi. 11; ὀφθαλμοδουλέια, vi. 6, Col. ii. 22; παροργισμός, iv. 26, etc.

The Vulgate Text of the Epistle.—It is generally supposed that St. Jerome revised the Latin text of the *Epistles* as well as of the *Gospels*, and his words at times[1] naturally lead to this impression. He has, however, left us commentaries on four of St. Paul's Epistles, *viz.* on those to the Ephesians, Galatians, Titus, and Philemon, and it is noticeable that the Latin text of these Epistles which he at times so energetically repudiates is practically in every instance that which figures in our present Vulgate. Thus when commenting on our present *Epistle to the Ephesians* he quarrels with the "Latin interpreters" at least on eleven occasions,[2] and we must suppose that he would have made the changes he clamours for had he actually "corrected" the text. That Jerome here "temperavit calamum"[3] is hardly credible in view of his commentary on *St. Matthew's Gospel*, where the Latin text he gives, and with which he does not quarrel, is—save in a very few minor details—that of our present printed Vulgate. Apropos of the emendations he suggests, St. Jerome affords us an insight into the difficulties he experienced in translating

[1] "I restored the New Testament according to the Greek: the Old Testament I translated according to the Hebrew," *De Viris Illustr.* CXXXV., *P.L.* XXIII. 717-719. But *cf.* his *Preface* to the Gospels, wherein he seems expressly to limit his work to the Four Gospels: "This present brief *Preface* offers you the Four Gospels," *P.L.* XXIX. 527.

[2] Thus note his commentary on Eph. i. 6, where his insistence on the correctness of the Vulgate reading "dilecto," without the addition of "Filio suo," is supported by *Cod. Amiatinus*, though against the large majority of the Vulgate MSS.; on i. 10 he would prefer "recapitulare" to "restaurare"; in i. 14 he prefers to read "arrhabo" rather than "pignus," and "acquisitio" instead of "adoptio"; in ii. 5, he says, we should read "mentium" rather than "cogitationum"; and in iii. 14 he would omit "Domini nostri Jesu Christi," etc.

[3] *Præf. ad Damasum*, *P.L.* XXIX. 528.

from Greek into Latin: "Because of the poverty of our language," he remarks, "and because of the novelty of the things (of which the Apostle treats), and because, as some say, the speech of the Greeks is fuller, and their tongue more happy in its expressions—we will endeavour not so much to render word for word, which is impossible, as to express the real force of the word by a circumlocution."[1] Again, he points out that "the Latin language fails to explain the difference between προορίσας and ὁρισθέντος.[2] Apropos of περιποιήσις in i. 14, he says we can render it "acquisitio" or "possessio," but even so we fail to express the force of the word. For there are many words which cannot be translated from Greek into Latin, nor from Hebrew into Greek; nor *vice versa* from Latin into Greek, or from Greek into Hebrew."[3] Neither does St. Jerome shrink from commenting adversely on St. Paul's Greek; thus, apropos of Eph. i. 15 ff., he says: "Although a word-for-word translation may, in the eyes of a prudent reader, serve to excuse the Apostle—even though it may appear to break up the context and be a solecism—yet in the Greek text, too, the same fault appears. . . . We will try, then, to change the structure of the phrase in accordance with its meaning."[4] Yet, while venturing on what seems a daring course, he shows his sense of the divine origin of the very text of Scripture by pointing out that though such expressions as "cohæredes," "concorporales," and "comparticipes" "are not graceful according to the rules of the Latin tongue, yet, since they stand in the Greek text, and since, too, every word, syllable, mark, or point in the divine Scriptures is full of meaning, we would prefer to run risks in the composition and structure of our phrases rather than in their intelligibility."[5] Once more, apropos of the baffling word εὐχαριστία in Eph. v. 4, he says: "I fancy that the Apostle—'a Hebrew of the Hebrews'—made use of a word of common speech, and wanted to express his mind through the meaning of another word."[6]

[1] *P.L.* XXVI. 446.
[2] *Ibid.* 448 on Eph. i. 5.
[3] *Ibid.* 457 on Eph. i. 14.
[4] *P.L.* XXVI. 458.
[5] *Ibid.* 481 on Eph. iii. 7.
[6] *Ibid.* 520 on Eph. v. 4.

G. The Theology of the Epistle.

The Holy Trinity: iv. 3-6.

The Father: His plan, i. 4-6; iii. 9-11; He has blessed us, chosen us, predestined us, and graced us in Christ, and this for His own Name's sake, i. 3-6; His power to effect this, i. 17-19, ii. 4-10; He is rich in mercy, ii. 4.

The Son: He is the Son of God, iv. 13; He delivered Himself as a sacrifice pleasing to the Father, v. 2; the Father raised Him from the dead, i. 20; and placed Him at His right hand, i. 20; above all principality and power, i. 21; He is the Head of the Church, i. 22-23, iv. 15-16, v. 23-33; He is the Saviour of His body, the Church, v. 23; He is our peace, ii. 14-17; He is the corner-stone, ii. 20; He has a kingdom, v. 5; He dwells in us by faith, iii. 17.

The Holy Spirit: He is the source of unity, iv. 3; He inspires the Prophets, iii. 5; we are baptized in Him, i. 13, iv. 30; He strengthens us, iii. 16; we are filled with Him, v. 18; we are not to grieve Him, iv. 30; we have access through Him to the Father, ii. 18, 22.

The Church: it is the body of which Christ is the Head, i. 22-23, iv. 15-16, v. 23-33; its unity, iv. 3-6; its diversity of gifts, iv. 7-13.

The relation of the Faithful to Christ: they are *in* Him, i. 1, 13, 15, ii. 13; they are blessed through Him, i. 3; they are chosen through and in Him, i. 4-5, 11; through Him they receive grace, i. 6, ii. 7, iv. 7, 11-13; and are redeemed, i. 7, ii. 13; and receive remission of sins, i. 7, iv. 32; and are re-established in God, i. 10, ii. 6, 10; they had previously hoped in Him, i. 12; through faith they are baptized in Him, i. 13; He is our peace, ii. 14-17; through Him the faithful have access to the Father, ii. 19; He is the corner-stone, ii. 20-22; the faithful must know Him, i. 18-19, iii. 17-19, iv. 13, 20-21; they must grow up into Him as the Head, iv. 15; in Him they are light in the Lord, v. 8; in Him they are strong, vi. 10; they must love Him, vi. 24; they must be grateful to Him, v. 19-20; they must for His sake be subject to one another, v. 21; children and parents, servants and masters, must perform their duties in the Lord, vi. 1-9.

In this Epistle, as also in that to the Colossians, St. Paul dwells much on the mediatorial character of Christ; and this not so much as being our Redeemer Who atoned for our sins, but as the personal Christ Who, by reason of the atonement He has wrought, dwells in us, and in Whom the faithful dwell. Thus we should note the constantly recurring expressions *in Christ*, *through Christ*, etc., and should compare St. John's use of the word *abide*. With this teaching is closely allied the use of the word πλήρωμα or "fulness," as also of πληρόω, "to fulfil." In Col. i. 19 the Apostle says that in Christ it *pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell*, and in ii. 9 he explains this *fulness: in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead corporeally*. He immediately adds: *And ye are filled in Him Who is the Head of all*. So, too, he says of the Church that it *is His body, and the fulness of Him who is filled all in all*, Eph. i. 23; similarly to the Philippians: *That ye may be . . . filled with the fruit of justice through Jesus Christ*, Phil. i. 11; and to the Ephesians: *That ye may be filled unto all the fulness of God*, iii. 19; and again of the consum-

mation: *Until we all meet into the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ*, iv. 13; *cp.* Eph. v. 18, Col. iv. 12, Rom. xv. 29. With this doctrine of the "fulness" of Christ should be compared the doctrine regarding Christ's "emptying Himself," Phil. ii. 5-11.

The doctrine of the Christian dwelling in Christ is rendered particularly clear in the Greek text, and to a less degree in the Latin text, by the number of verbs compounded with the preposition *σύν* or *cum*; *cf.* Col. i. 7, ii. 2, 12, 19, iii. 1, 14; Eph. ii. 6, 19, 21, 22, iii. 6, iv. 3, 16, v. 7.

The Faith: the faithful are in Christ, i. 1; they believe in Him, i. 13, 15; they have access to God by faith in Christ, iii. 12; Christ dwells in them by faith, iii. 17; charity is necessary with faith, vi. 23; they were once the children of unbelief, ii. 2, v. 6; revelation is necessary, i. 17, *cf.* iii. 9-10, iv. 21, v. 8; the goal of faith, iv. 13; we are saved by faith, not by works, ii. 8-9; the unity of the faith, iv. 5, 13; the shield of faith, vi. 16; the building up of the faith, iv. 29.

The "Mystery": of God's will, i. 9; was made known to the Prophets, iii. 3-4, 7-9; it is the Mystery of Christ, iii. 4; of Christ, His Church and matrimony, v. 32; of the call of the Gentiles, iii. 6; this Mystery was hidden from eternity, iii 9; it is the Mystery of the Gospel, vi. 19.

The Gospel: is of salvation, i. 13; of peace, vi. 15; it is a Mystery, vi. 19; its preachers are the Evangelists, iv. 11.

Sin: we were dead in sin, ii. 1-3, 5; were quickened by Christ, ii. 5; the remission of sin, i. 7; details regarding sin, iv. 19, 22-31, v. 3-7, 18; of resistance to sin, vi. 4-17; though angry we must sin not, iv. 26.

The Devil and Evil Spirits: the devil is the "prince of the powers of this world," ii. 2; he is "the spirit of the children of unbelief," ii. 2; his deceits, vi. 11; he is "the most wicked one," vi. 16; evil spirits are "principalities," "powers," "rulers of this world," "the spirits of wickedness in the high places," vi. 12.

H. Bibliography.

In addition to the works mentioned in the text, the following may be noticed: von Soden, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser, Epheser*, Friburg, 1893; Abbott, *The Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, International Critical Commentary*, 1897; Gore, *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, 1898, and for a review attacking his portrait of the Church, see *R.B.*, 1898, pp. 343-369; Robinson, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, 1904, see *R.B.*, October, 1904, p. 598; Westcott, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, 1906; Rutherford, *St. Paul's Epistles to Colossæ and Laodicea*, Clark, 1908; Scott, *The Pauline Epistles, a Critical Study*, Clark, 1909; Murray, *The Epistle to the Ephesians, Cambridge Greek Testament*, 1914; Vosté, O.P., *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Ephesios*, 1921, Rome. For articles on various questions relative to this Epistle see *R.B.*, April, 1898, also July, October, 1902, January, 1909.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS

A. The Foundation of the Church at Philippi.
B. An Analysis of the Epistle.
C. The Character of the Epistle.
D. The Occasion which led to it; the Date and Place of Writing.
E. Its Canonicity and Authenticity.
F. The Vocabulary of the Epistle.
G. The Theological Teaching.
H. Bibliography.

A. The Foundation of the Church at Philippi.

Philippi was founded by Philip of Macedon towards the close of the fourth century B.C. It lay on the famous Via Egnatia; Neapolis, its port, was about nine miles to the east. In 168 B.C. it was taken by the Romans, who divided Macedonia into four parts, the first of which included Philippi and had Amphipolis for its capital.[1] In 42 B.C. the battle of Philippi was fought. Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Antony and Octavian; the latter afterwards became Augustus. At this time Philippi was erected into a *Colonia* under the title of *Colonia Augusta Julia Philippensium*. It was thus entitled to the *Jus Italicum* and had magistrates, *cp.* Acts xvi. 20, 22, 35, 36, 38; in ver. 19 they are termed "rulers"; "prætors" would perhaps be a better rendering.

[1] A reference to this division occurs in Acts xvi. 12, but the text is difficult to translate and may be corrupt. At any rate, Philippi was not the chief city of that district when the fourfold division was made. Perhaps, however, the capitals had been changed. *Codex Bezæ* reads simply κεφαλή for πρώτη τῆς μερίδος. A simple correction has often been proposed, *viz.* πρώτης for πρώτη τῆς. See Hastings, *D.B.* III., p. 837, note.

The Church at Philippi was founded by St. Paul probably in A.D. 50; he arrived there in obedience to his vision of "a man of Macedonia," who appeared to him at Troas, Acts xvi. 9-10, saying, *Pass over into Macedonia and help us.* St. Paul began, as usual, with the Jews in the place; he found them outside the town at a place of prayer (προσεύχη).[1] It is possible that there was no synagogue in the town, and certainly we are not led to suppose that there were many Jews there. How long he stayed there must remain uncertain. But though only one Sabbath is mentioned, it seems that the possessed girl who cried out against him, Acts xvi. 16-18, did so on his way to the place of prayer, and therefore possibly on the Sabbath days; this she did "many days," ver. 18, so that Paul may have stayed there some time. Her owners, however, did not stir up the Jews against him as in other cities, but accused him to the magistrates for disturbing Roman usages. Paul and Silas were scourged, and we must suppose that on this occasion Paul thought fit to suppress the fact that he was a Roman citizen, possibly because Silas was not one, but *cp.* ver. 37. They were miraculously released from prison, and the gaoler with all his family received the faith. The chief convert, perhaps the only one up to this, was Lydia, a proselyte. After their release from prison she afforded them hospitality and sent them on their way.

From the fact that St. Luke here uses the first person plural, xvi. 10-17, and does not resume it till xx. 5, when they sailed from Philippi at the close of the third missionary journey, it is legitimate to conclude that he himself was left in charge of the infant Church at Philippi. We know of two other visits paid by St. Paul to Philippi; he came thither from Troas, Acts xx. 2, and he returned to Troas by Philippi, *ibid.* 3. From there, too, he almost certainly wrote 2 *Corinthians*, *cf.* 2 Cor. ii. 12, vii. 5, viii. 1, 2, 4. It is possible also that we have a hint of two other visits in

[1] It is possible that the Jews were at the water-side on the occasion of some feast, and that we cannot therefore argue that there was no synagogue. *Cp.* Josephus, *Ant.* XIV. x. 23, where the Decree of Halicarnassus enacts that the Jews have liberty to "make their *proseuchæ* at the seaside." For the προσεύχη see Josephus, *Vita*, 54; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 51, note 6.

1 Tim. i. 3, 2 Tim. iv. 13. St. Polycarp, *Phil.* iii., speaks of "epistles" in the plural, as addressed by Paul to the Philippians. The plural may here be used for the singular, but the repeated gifts of the Philippians to the Apostle would seem to demand a frequent interchange of letters, and this may be borne out by Phil. iii. 1, 18, iv. 15.

B. Analysis of the Epistle.

A. i. 1-11. *The exordium.*
   (*a*) His gratitude to God by reason of their contributions, i. 1-7.
   (*b*) His prayer for them that they may be *without offence unto the day of Christ*, i. 8-11.

B. i. 12-ii. 18. *Christ has been all in all to him, and so also must He be to them.*
   (*a*) He gives them an account of his state in prison: it *has fallen out for the furtherance of the Gospel*, for many preach the Gospel, and in this alone he rejoices. His magnanimity: he desires indeed *to be dissolved and to be with Christ*, but for their sake he is ready to labour on, i. 12-26.
   (*b*) And the same mind must be in them: Christ must be all in all to them; hence will come union and concord; for the humility of Christ, whereby He emptied Himself for our sakes, will beget humility in them, i. 27-ii. 18.

C. ii. 19-30. *A digression touching his plans for the future:* he hopes to send Timothy to them shortly; indeed, he hopes that he himself will see them shortly. He has sent Epaphroditus—who had been the bearer of their gifts to him—with this letter; he eulogizes both Timothy and Epaphroditus.

D. iii. 1-iv. 9. *The true Christian spirit is joy in the Lord.*
   (*a*) He himself might have reason to boast in the Law, iii. 1-6.
   (*b*) He has not done so, but *the things that were gain to me the same I have counted loss for Christ*, iii. 7-14.
   (*c*) They must do the same: their conversation must be in heaven, whence they are to look for the Saviour, Our Lord Jesus Christ, iii. 15-21.
   (*d*) Let them therefore *stand fast in the Lord:* he therefore begs of them all—Evodia, Syntyche, his *sincere companion* (apparently Epaphroditus), and Clement—all *whose names are written in the Book of Life*, to be *of one mind in the Lord.* The fruit of this spirit will be that *peace of God which surpasseth all understanding . . . and the God of peace will be with you*, iv. 1-9.

E. iv. 10-23. *The conclusion of the Epistle.*
   (*a*) He renews his gratitude for their gifts, though in Christ he has learned to be independent of all things. He reminds them of their past thoughtfulness for him, even *in the beginning of the Gospel*, iv. 10-19.

(*b*) His parting salutations to all and from all, *especially* from them *that are of Cæsar's household*, iv. 20-23.

C. The Character of the Epistle.

More than any other Letter of the Apostle, the *Epistle to the Philippians* is wanting in definite plan. In i. 1-11 he tells of his remembrance of them, and prays that they may be *filled with the fruit of justice*. In vv. 12-30, he speaks of his own affairs, and tells them that his imprisonment has not really hindered the spread of the Gospel. In ii. 1-11 he urges them to mutual charity after the example of Christ. In ii. 12-18, he warns them against discords. In vv. 19-30 he tells them that he hopes to send Timothy to them shortly, and adds a warm commendation of him; he is sending Epaphroditus to them now. Ch. iii. 1-21, once more he warns them against divisions, and, iv. 1-9, expressly urges two women, Evodia and Syntyche, to *be united in the Lord*. Here he takes occasion to speak of *those women who have laboured with me in the Gospel*, perhaps an allusion to Lydia. In iv. 10-23, he thanks them for their gifts, and closes with salutations.

There is practically no dogmatic teaching in the Epistle, though the passage on the self-humiliation of Christ, commonly known as the "kenotic passage," is of the highest importance.[1] No heresies are mentioned, though false teachers are referred to, iii. 2. The only feature which stands out is the spirit of dissension, against which the Apostle warns them more than once. The real note of the Epistle is "joy," i. 4, 7, 18, 25, ii. 2, 17, 18, 28, 29, iii. 1, iv. 1, 4, 10. And the keynote to this is to be found in iv. 10, where the Apostle speaks of his joy in the thought that they had once again thought of him.

D. The Occasion and Date of the Epistle.

The *Epistle to the Philippians*, like those to the Ephesians, Colossians, and to Philemon, dates from St. Paul's first Roman captivity.[2] But this Epistle stands apart from the

[1] See St. Augustine, *De Diversis Quæst.* lxxiii, *P.L.* XL. 84; *Revue Biblique*, 1898, 412, 553; *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1909, April, 1911.

[2] Though there is practical unanimity on this point, yet there are not wanting critics who would refer the Epistle to St. Paul's imprison-

others, which, from internal evidence, were all three written at the same time. Many maintain that *Philippians* was written later than the other three, but it is difficult to decide this question; many hold that it preceded the others.[1]

Whether we agree with his conclusions or not, we could hardly improve on St. Jerome's exposition of the relationship subsisting between these Epistles:

"St. Paul wrote, then, to Philemon when chained in prison at Rome, and it seems to me that the *Epistles* to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and *Ephesians* were dictated by him at the same time. As far as *Philippians* is concerned this holds, because, first of all, he writes this Epistle in conjunction with Timothy alone, as in our present Epistle (to Philemon) Secondly, because he says that his 'bonds are made manifest for Christ's sake in the whole Prætorium.' And what the 'Prætorium' means we gather from the close of the present Epistle: 'All the Saints salute thee, especially they that are of Cæsar's household.' Thrown into prison by the Cæsar, and thus becoming known to Cæsar's family, he turns his persecutor's house into a Church of Christ." St. Jerome goes on to point out how the same references to the Apostle's "bonds" occur in Phil. i. 17, Col. i. 2, 23, 24, iv. 18. "So much, then," he continues, "to show that all these Epistles were dictated when in prison and in chains. But we must notice, too, that in *Colossians* the same Onesimus who here is commended to Philemon appears as the bearer of this Epistle." St. Jerome then quotes Col. iv. 7-8, where Tychicus and Onesimus are mentioned, and concludes: "If, then, the Philemon to whom the Epistle is addressed is Onesimus' master—nay, has now begun to be his brother in the Lord—and if the Colossians are reminded that Onesimus is one of themselves, then simple reason and the order of the events demand that Philemon, too, was a Colossian, and that at the same time as Onesimus conveyed private commendatory letters to his master he was also the bearer of a public communication to the entire Church there. And there is another

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ment at Cæsarea. Thus *cp.* the reference to the *Prætorium* in i. 13 and Acts xxiii. 35. Inscriptions show us that there were *Prætoriani* at Ephesus, and it has been held that 1 Cor. xv. 32 indicates that the Apostle was imprisoned there, too; some hold, then, that our Epistle accords better, as far as date is concerned, with that period (*cf.* Lake, *Expositor*, June, 1914, and March, 1915; also *Expos. Times*, July, 1918). As for the term *Prætorium* in i. 13, some have held that it refers to the imperial palace on the Palatine, others to the imperial barracks, others again to the imperial guard, in which sense it is used by Josephus, *Ant.* XIX. iii. 1. Perhaps it is best understood, as in the Rheims version, of the "court." *Cp.* "Cæsar's household," iv. 22, and St. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxxi. 1; St. Jerome on *Philemon* 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 605.

[1] Thus St. Chrysostom holds that the *Epistle to the Colossians* preceded that to the Philippians, *Hom.* I. in *Ep. ad Coloss.*, *P.G.* LXII. 299.

point, *viz.* that in this same *Epistle to the Colossians* Archippus is mentioned; to him, with Philemon, is written: 'Say to Archippus: See that thou fulfil the ministry which thou hast received from the Lord.' What 'ministry' is this that he has received from the Lord? We find the Apostle saying to Philemon: 'And to Archippus, my fellow-soldier, and to the Church which is in your house.' Whence I gather that perhaps Archippus was Bishop of the Church at Colossæ, and that he is here admonished to preside over it carefully and diligently as a preacher of the Gospel. Or, if this view is not acceptable, we have at any rate sufficient to show that Philemon, Archippus, and Onesimus, the bearer of the letters, were Colossians, and that, as I have said, the four Epistles were written at the same time." St. Jerome then points out that the same arguments hold good for the *Epistle to the Ephesians:* the Apostle was in prison, the advice with which he concludes—touching family life—is the same in *Ephesians* and *Colossians*, and the Tychicus mentioned at the close "is the same person who was despatched to the Colossians with Onesimus, and had the same Onesimus as his companion when the latter carried letters to Philemon."[1]

From Acts xxviii. 30-31 we can form a picture of the Apostle's life in prison. He was *in his own hired lodging, and he received all that came to him.* Thus, though a prisoner and in bonds, Acts xxviii. 17, Philem. 1, 9, 10, 13; Eph. iii. 1, iv. 1; Phil. i. 7, 13, 14, 17; Col. iv. 3, 18, he was yet free to preach to as many as came to him. Still, he must have felt deeply the cessation of his former activity, in spite of the fact that even in his bondage he was able to do so much, Phil. i. 13. At the same time his imprisonment only served to encourage others to preach, and if some did so out of perversity, yet the Apostle consoles himself with the thought that even then it is Christ Who is preached, i. 18.

In the midst of his affliction came a welcome present from his children at Philippi. The thought of their remembrance of him touched him deeply, and he wrote to them by the hand of Epaphroditus who had, so it would seem, brought their presents and had fallen sick at Rome, ii. 25-30, iv. 18. He it is, apparently, who is referred to, iv. 3, as *my sincere companion*, and who is exhorted to help those women who have laboured in the Gospel. The patristic tradition identifies the Clement here mentioned with St. Clement of Rome, though there are certain chronological difficulties.[2]

[1] On Philem. 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 605; *cp.* on Eph. iii. 1, *ibid.* 477.

[2] Origen, *in Joan.* i. 29. *ed.* Delarue, IV., p. 153. St. Jerome, *Vir. III.* XV.; *Adv. Jovin.* I. 12; Eusebius, *H.E.* III. iv. 10.

E. The Canonicity of the Epistle.

The canonicity of the Epistle has never been seriously called in question. It is found in all the lists, in the *Muratorian Canon*, and was accorded a place in the *Apostolicon* of Marcion. That it was known to the Apostolic Fathers will be clear from a comparison of the following passages in the Greek text:

St. Clement, 1 *Cor.* 47 and Phil. iv. 15.
St. Ignatius, *Rom.* 2, *cp.* Phil. ii. 17, or perhaps 2 Tim. iv. 6.
Philad. 1 and 8 and Phil. ii. 3.
Smyrn. 4 and Phil. iv. 13.
Smyrn. 11 and Phil. iii. 15.
St. Polycarp, *Phil.* 3 and 11, refers to the Epistle, and in his opening words he quotes from Phil. iv. 10; *cp.*, too, Polycarp v with Phil. i. 27, which he quotes, as also Polycarp ix and Phil. ii. 16.

F. The Vocabulary of the Epistle.

The vocabulary of the Epistle is in the main that to which we are accustomed in the other Epistles. There are, however, one or two features which call for notice. There is a remarkable play upon words in the forms *σύμψυχοι*, ii. 2, *ἐνψυχῶ* and *ἰσόψυχον*, ii. 19. The second form is illustrated by the Papyri, and occurs frequently in funereal inscriptions.[1] The classical passage, ii. 5-9, on Christ's "emptying Himself," does not stand isolated in the Epistle, for several of the words the Apostle there uses recur with evident significance. Thus with *ἐκένωσεν* compare *οὐκ εἰς κενὸν* in ii. 16, and note, too, the repetition of *μόρφη*, *συμμορφόμενος*, and *μετασχηματίσει* in ii. 7 and iii. 21. We have examples of words probably coined by the Apostle for his own needs in *ἐπιχορηγίας*, i. 19; *ἀποκαραδοκίαν*,[2] i. 20; *συναθλοῦντες*, i. 27, iv. 3; *πτυρόμενοι*, i. 28; *παραβουλευσόμενος*, ii. 30. In the Latin version it is a pity that *δέησις*, i. 4 and iv. 6, is rendered indiscriminately by "oratio," "deprecatio," and "obsecratio"; in i. 7 *χάριτος* is given as "gaudii"; in i. 28 *ἔνδειξις* as "causa," though in Rom. iii. 25, 26 and 2 Cor. viii. 24 rightly as "ostensio"; in iii. 2 *κατάτομην*, which is quite classical, would be better rendered by "incisio" than by "concisio"; it is curious to find *στοιχεῖν*, in iii. 16, translated as "permanere," elsewhere it is translated either by "to walk" or "to follow"; *νοήματα*, in iv. 7, is rendered "intelligentias," in 2 Cor. ii. 11 by "cogitationes," in iii. 14 and xi. 3 by "sensus," in iv. 4 by "mentes," in x. 5 by "intellectus."

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[1] See Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, *s.v.*
[2] *Ibid.*

G. Theology of the Epistle.

God the Father: grace is from Him, i. 2; we owe Him gratitude, i. 3; Paul takes God to witness, i. 8; we are justified for His glory, i. 11; He has exalted Christ, ii. 9; Christ is in His glory, ii. 11; He worketh in us *both to will and to accomplish*, ii. 13; we must be sons of God, ii. 15; He hath shown mercy to Epaphroditus, ii. 27; we serve Him in the spirit, iii. 3; the faith which is in Christ Jesus is from Him, iii. 9; He calls us in Christ, iii. 14; He will reveal all that is necessary, iii. 15; we must make our petitions known to Him, iv. 6; *the peace of God*, iv. 7; *the God of peace*, iv. 9; He fulfils all our desires, iv. 19; *to God and our Father be glory*, iv. 20; the presents of the Philippians are a sweet savour to God, iv. 18.

Christology of the Epistle: Christ has emptied Himself, and God has therefore glorified Him, ii. 5-11; we have to be conformed to Him in His sufferings if we would share in His glory, iii. 10-11, 20-21, ii. 29, iii. 7; grace and peace are from Him, i. 2; we are justified through Him, i. 11, iii. 9; we must seek Him, ii. 21, i. 23; and the knowledge of Him is above all things, iii. 8; we must not despise His Cross, iii. 18; the Gospel is His, i. 5, 27, *cp.* ii. 30; it must be preached, i. 15-18; His day is to come, i. 6, 10, ii. 26; for St. Paul "to live" is Christ, i. 21; and he seeks to be with Him, i. 23; he hopes that Christ may be magnified in Him, i. 20; he yearns after the Philippians "in the bowels of Christ," i. 8; and the Spirit of Christ will work for his salvation, i. 19; "the Lord is nigh," iv. 5.

The Saints are said to be *in Christ*, i. 1; in Him we are called, iii. 14; our joy is in Him, i. 26. ii. 29, iv. 4, 10; so, too, our hope, ii. 19, 24; and our peace, iv. 7; and our consolation, ii. 1; and our glory, iii. 3; in Him must be our desires, iv. 19; in Him is our strength, iv. 13; in Him will the Apostle's bonds be made manifest, i. 13; he seeks to "be found in Him," iii. 9; they are to salute one another in Him, iv. 21.

The Holy Spirit: through His ministry Paul trusts to be brought to salvation, i. 19.

The Church of God: has been persecuted by Paul, iii. 6.

H. Bibliography.

Four Patristic Commentaries should be noted, *viz.* those of St. Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, M. Victorinus, *Opp. Sti. Hier., P.L.* VIII. 1197-1235, and St. Thomas. Since the Commentaries of Cornelius à Lapide and Maldonatus no remarkable Catholic work has appeared. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, 1895, remains a standard work; H. G. Moule in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools;* M. R. Vincent, *Philippians and Philemon* in the *International Critical Commentary*, 1897; *The Epistle to the Philippians* in the *Westminster Commentary*, Maurice Jones, D.D., 1918. For papers on special points see the *Expositor* for November, 1914, on the *Integrity of the Epistle*, also November, 1916, for *Expository Notes;* on Phil. i. 21-22, *J.T.S.*, April, 1912; on the Epistle in general, *R.B.*, 1899, pp. 131, 320, 402, 553; and on ii. 6, *R.B.*, October, 1911.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS

A. The Church at Colossæ.
B. The Peculiar Doctrines, especially concerning Angels, which prevailed there.
C. Analysis of the Epistle.
D. The Greek and Latin Text and Vocabulary.
E. The Relationship of the Epistle to the Colossians to that addressed to the Ephesians.
F. The Epistle from the Laodiceans.
G. The Theological Teaching of the Epistle.
H. Bibliography.

A. The Church at Colossæ.

Three Churches are mentioned in this Epistle, those at Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hierapolis, iv. 13-16. The three cities designated stood in the Lycus valley on the highroad leading from Ephesus to the Euphrates. The Lycus itself flows into the Meander which passes through the northern portion of Caria and enters the sea at Miletus.[1] Thus these Churches belonged to the Province of Asia as distinct from the geographical district of Asia which lay to the north of Caria. The three cities form a triangle, Colossæ lying to the east, Laodicea some thirteen miles slightly north-west of it, and Hierapolis[2] almost due north of Laodicea from which it is distant about ten miles. Owing to their position on the trade route these cities were important and wealthy; this was particularly the case with Laodicea, the wealth of

[1] See the excellent maps in Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire.*
[2] Famous as the place where Philip the Evangelist lived, *H.E.* III. xxxix. 9, V. xxiv. 2; it was also the See of Papias.

which led to its lukewarmness;[1] it was the capital of the district of the so-called *Cibyratic Conventus*.[2]

From their position on the highroad between East and West we should naturally have expected St. Paul to have visited these cities on his frequent journeyings, but i. 9 and ii. 1 show conclusively that he was a stranger to them, and Acts xix. 1 shows how this came to pass, for St. Luke depicts the Apostle as passing "through the upper parts to Ephesus," *i.e.* along the direct route to Ephesus, not that through the Lycus valley.[3] Our *Epistle* shows us, however, that these cities had been evangelized by Epaphras, i. 6-7, iv. 12-13, and he had apparently paid them a recent visit in the course of which he had noted certain failings which he reported to the Apostle when he met him in Rome, i. 8. This report was one of the reasons which induced the Apostle to write to the Church at Colossæ; but there was also the fact that he was in communication with another Colossian, Philemon, to whom he despatched a Letter at the same time by the latter's runaway slave Onesimus. He also seems to have been in communication at some time with Nymphas of the Laodicean Church, Col. iv. 15. The bearer of the Letter to Colossæ, Tychicus, was at the same time commissioned to carry a Letter which we now know as the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, *cf.* Eph. vi. 21, Col. iv. 7.[4]

B. The "Doctrine of Angels."

The Epistle itself shows what the troubles were which Epaphras discovered at Colossæ. For, as St. Chrysostom compendiously puts it: "They went to God through the medium of Angels," and again, "They retained many Jewish and Greek observances."[5] These two points are urged against them by the Apostle in words which imply that the one error was the concomitant of the other; thus he speaks of Jewish observances, ii. 16-17, of a "religion of Angels," ii. 18, and of Jewish observances again, ii. 20-23.

[1] Apoc. iii. 17.
[2] Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*, p. 7 with references.
[3] See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 265.
[4] See St. Jerome on Philemon 23-24, *P.L.* XXVI. 617.
[5] *Hom.* I. i, V. ii, VI. i, VII. i, *P.G.* LXII. 301, 333, 339, 344.

But there is a third element interwoven, *viz.* a "vain philosophy," ii. 8, 23. The two former, then, would seem to be rooted in the last named, which denotes a speculative system assigning an undue place to the Angels and to Jewish observances. One is tempted to discover here exceedingly early traces of that Gnosticism or peculiar γνῶσις which the Apostle reprobates when writing to Timothy.[1] But the intimate connection between the speculations rife amongst the Colossians and "Jewish observances" shows that the former was no mere heathen philosophy but something derived from Judaism. It is probable that Essenism was at the root of the evil; for the Essenes were conspicuous for an asceticism[2] which seems to be referred to in ii. 16-17; they in some sort regarded the Angels as especially holy; thus, their novices had to take "tremendous oaths" that, amongst other things, they would "preserve the books belonging to their sect, and equally the names of the Angels."[3] Moreover, they had a peculiar reverence for the sun;[4] they were strict Sabbatarians;[5] and while careful about bodily purifications, they yet despised the body itself which they regarded merely as the soul's prison; the soul, indeed, was held to be immortal, but a future resurrection of the body seems to have been outside their purview, if not in contradiction with their fundamental tenets.[6] The stricter Essenes repudiated marriage, but a certain section of them felt that such repudiation would, if carried into effect, put an end to their own corporate existence.[7] Their views were the outcome

[1] 1 Tim. vi. 20. Thus note St. Jerome: "We must now try and discover where the Apostle found these four names—'principalities,' 'powers,' 'virtues,' and 'dominations'—written; whence did he bring them to light? For it is certainly not legitimate for one who was instructed in reading Holy Scripture to think of saying anything which is not found in the sacred text. Consequently I fancy that either he brought to light things hidden in the traditions of the Hebrews, or at least that, since he realized that the Law was spiritual, he interpreted in spiritual fashion (sublimius) things that are written in historical fashion (juxta historiam), and knew that what is narrated in *Numbers* and *Kingdoms* of kings, princes, leaders, tribunes, and centurions, was but a type of other princes and kingdoms." On Eph. i. 21, *P.L.* XXVI. 461; *cp. Ep.* cxxi. 10, *P.L.* XXII.

[2] Josephus, *B.J.* II. viii. 2, 5. [3] *Ibid.* 7. [4] *Ibid.* 5, 9.
[5] *Ibid.* 9. [6] *Ibid.* 11. [7] *Ibid.* 2, 13.

of study; "they take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients," and "they preserve the books belonging to their sect."[1]

It would seem, then, that St. Paul had to deal with a peculiar form of "Judaizing" at Colossæ. It was not simply that crude insistence on the Mosaic Law which had wrought such havoc among the Galatians; it was something far more subtle and speculative, something much akin to the later Gnosticism portrayed by St. Irenæus in the first two books of his treatise *Against Heresies*. The Gnostics whom Irenæus combats held to a complicated system of "Beings" intermediate between God and man, these had all to be approached if due access were to be had to the Creator. This is what St. Chrysostom meant when he said that the Colossians "approached God through the medium of Angels." Herein lies the key to the whole Epistle. Men must, in the truest sense, "go straight to Christ." Hence St. Paul's demand for "knowledge of God,"[2] hence his emphatic statements touching the Logos, hence he dwells on "the kingdom of His Son,"[3] and says that "through Him we are redeemed,"[4] that "He is the image of the invisible God,"[5] that "in Him were created all things visible and invisible,"[6] that "He is before all and in Him all things consist,"[7] that He is their hope of glory,[8] that in Him they must be rooted,[9] that He is body as opposed to shadow,[10] that the doctrine held by the Colossians is not according to Christ,[11] that the fulness, *πλήρωμα*, of God is in Him,[12] and that "He is all and in all";[13] hence, too, his insistence that they must "do all things in His name,"[14] and must "serve Him,"[15] and finally that "His word must dwell in them."[16] But neither does the Apostle neglect to point out that though Christ is indeed "all in all" and that there is no place for a doctrine of intermediate Angels, yet access to Christ is through His Church, "which is His Body";[17] it is in this sense that he praises their

[1] *Ibid.* 6, 7. For the whole question *cf.* Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*, pp. 87-92; *Expositor*, June, 1918.

[2] i. 10. [3] i. 13. [4] i. 14. [5] i. 15.
[6] i. 16. [7] i. 17. [8] i. 27. [9] ii. 7, 10-15.
[10] ii. 17. [11] ii. 8. [12] ii. 9. [13] iii. 11.
[14] iii. 17. [15] iii. 24. [16] iii. 16. [17] i. 24.

"order" and their "steadfastness in the faith,"[1] and speaks of the faith which they "have heard, and which is preached in all the creation under heaven."[2]

This, then, is essentially the *Christological* Epistle. Christ is named some twenty-eight times; out of ninety-five verses some thirty-six treat explicitly of Him. Especially noteworthy is the identity of treatment here and in the *Prologue* to *St. John's Gospel*. Thus *cp.* i. 15-17, 19, ii. 3, with John i. 1-3, *cp.*, too, Heb. i-ii, especially in the use of the term "image" as used of the Second Person of the Trinity. It is true that Theodore of Mopsuestia combats strenuously the view held by practically all other exegetes that this term is here to be referred to the Eternal Son of God, and

[1] ii. 5.

[2] i. 23. That a false "Angelology" long persisted at Laodicea is witnessed to by the Canons of the Council of Laodicea held about A.D. 363, where *Can.* 35 runs: "It is not lawful for Christians to abandon the Church of God and to turn away and invoke Angels. . . . If, therefore, anyone is found giving himself to this secret idolatry, let him be anathema, since he has abandoned Jesus Christ our Lord and followed after idolatry." Similarly *Canons* 29, 36-38, show that Judaizing tendencies still lingered there; see Mansi, *Concilia*, II. 598, and for a similar Decree by the Council of Hierapolis, *Can.* 184, see *ib.* VI. 482. For the whole subject see Prat, *Théologie de S. Paul*, I. 390-414, *J.T.S.*, April, 1909; see, too, *Proc. of Soc. of Bibl. Archæol.*, XII. 298, 337, for an interesting magical inscription from Miletus which illustrates the superstitious devotion of the Colossians to the Angels. See, too, St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* XL. 4-5, on the "Sethites," and *Hær.* LX. 1-2 on the "Angelicans," *P.G.* XLI. 682-683 and 1038.

This extrinsic confirmation of a "religion of Angels" as existing in the district is of interest since it dissipates another view held by Theodore of Mopsuestia, and seemingly endorsed by St. Thomas, *Lectio* iv. *in cap.* ii. in *Ep. ad Colossenses*, that in this Epistle it is solely question of a reverential fear of the Angels through whom the Law had been given, and "who would not tolerate contempt of that Law," Swete's edition of Theodore, I. 294. That Laodicea was for long a centre of disaffection and that the Christians there were undisciplined seems clear from the above references to the Councils, as also from the fact that Eusebius mentions a strife which took place there on the notorious Paschal question apropos of which Melito of Sardis wrote to them, *H.E.* IV. xxvi. 2. Eusebius also tells us that Origen addressed them a letter, though we have no information as to its subject-matter, *H.E.* VI. xlvi. 2. See, too, St. Augustine, *Ep.* cxlix. 27, *P.L.* XXXIII. 642. For discussions on this "doctrine of Angels," see *J.T.S.*, April, 1909, January, 1910; also *Expository Times*, May, 1917, and *Expositor*, May, 1918. For an examination of Haupt's views on Phrygian religion see *R.B.*, 1898, pp. 131-134.

that he insists again and again that it is question solely of the Incarnate Word;[1] but see, for example, St. Thomas, *Lectio* iv. *in cap.* i. for a complete summary of the accepted doctrine. Indeed, roughly speaking, we might say that St. Paul treats in i. 1-23 of the Logos or Eternal Word, in i. 24-ii of the Incarnate Word, in iii of the glorified Christ.[2]

C. Analysis of the Epistle.

A. I. 1-8. Introductory.

(*a*) Introductory salutations, i. 1-3.

(*b*) He has heard of their faith, charity, and progress owing to the teaching of Epaphroditus, i. 4-8.

B. I. 9-II. 23. The Dogmatic Portion of the Epistle.

I. i. 9-29.

(*a*) By reason of this good report he prays that they may *increase in the knowledge of God . . . Who . . . hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love*, i. 9-13.

(*b*) The Son is *the image of God*, and consequently the medium of redemption, of creation, and of reconciliation; in Him is all the *fulness* of the Father, hence He is the Head of the Church, i. 14-20.

(*c*) They, too, are themselves reconciled through Him; He will present them unspotted if they continue in the faith and in the Gospel, i. 20-23*a*.

(*d*) Of which Gospel Paul is a minister, a minister of that mystery which is Christ the hope of glory to the Gentiles, i. 23*b*-29.

II. ii. 1-23.

(*a*) Because of his care for them he is anxious that they should attain to *the knowledge of the mystery of God the Father and of Christ Jesus, in Whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge*, ii. 1-3.

(*b*) Hence they must hold the sound teaching concerning Christ, ii. 4-23.

(i.) ii. 5-15. They must not be led away by false philosophy *according to the traditions of men*, for in Christ *dwelleth all the* fulness of the Godhead corporally; they therefore are filled *in Him*, they are circumcised *in Him*, they are buried *with Him* by Baptism, and they are risen again

[1] In Swete's edition, I., pp. 262, 274, etc.

[2] For the Christology see *Expository Times*, January and February, 1914.

in Him by faith, for He hath blotted out the handwriting of the decree.

(ii.) ii. 16-17. Hence there must be no adherence to Jewish observances, for such are but *the shadow of things to come.*

(iii.) ii. 18-19. Neither must they give in to Gnostic ideas touching the service of Angels, for instance, but must hold fast to the Head.

(iv.) ii. 20-23. For, being dead with Christ, they must not be under the dominion of the material things of this world.

C. III. 1-IV. 6. THE MORAL TEACHING OF THE EPISTLE.

They are risen with Christ, hence they must lead the new life.

I. iii. 1-17. *Of this new life in general.*

(*a*) They must *put away* all impurity, anger, and lying.

(*b*) They must *put on* mercy, patience, forgivingness, and, above all, *charity, which is the bond of perfection;* they must be grateful, and must teach one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual canticles. All must be done *in the name of the Lord Jesus.*

II. iii. 18-iv. 6. *Particular precepts regarding this new life.*

(*a*) iii. 18-iv. 1. Wives must be subject—*in the Lord*, and husbands must love their wives. Children must obey—*for this is pleasing to the Lord;* servants must obey—*not as pleasing men, but as to the Lord;* masters must remember that they also have *a Master* in heaven.

(*b*) iv. 2-4. They must lead a life of prayer, and this for others as well as themselves.

(*c*) iv. 5-6. They must *make their market of the time* and behave themselves wisely *towards them that are without.*

D. IV. 7-18. THE CONCLUSION OF THE EPISTLE.

(*a*) iv. 7-14. Those who are with him send divers salutations:

7-9. Tychicus, the bearer of the Epistle, and Onesimus, *who is one of you*, will give them all news of himself.

10-11. Aristarchus, Mark, and Jesus Justus—*who are of the circumcision*—salute them.

12-14. Epaphras—*who is one of you*—prays much for them, and he, as well as *Luke, the most dear physician*, and Demas, salute them.

(*b*) iv. 15-18. Various messages they are to give: to the brethren at Laodicea, as well as to Nymphas, and *the Church that is in his house;* they are to send this letter to the Laodiceans, and the one from Laodicea they also are to read. Archippus is warned to fulfil the ministry he has received. *The salutation of Paul with mine own hand.*

D. The Vocabulary of the Epistle.

The vocabulary of the Epistle is thoroughly Pauline; we meet with such words as *ἰσότης*, iv. 1, *cp.* 2 Cor. viii. 13-14; the characteristically Lukan *ἱκανός* reappears in the form *ἱκανόω*, i. 12, *cp.* 2 Cor. iii. 5-6; the compounds with *σύν*, so familiar from *Ephesians*, recur, ii. 12, 13, 19; the typically Pauline thought set forth in the use of *ἀπεκδύομαι* and *ἐνδύω*, ii. 11, 15, iii. 9, 10, 12, *cp.* 2 Cor. v. 3 and *passim;* there are the same strange compound words, apparently coined on the spot as best expressing his thought, *e.g.* *εἰρηνοποιέω*, i. 20; *ἀναναπληρόω*, i. 24; *καταβραβεύω*, ii. 18, *cp.* 1 Cor. ix. 24, Phil. iii. 14; *ἐθελοθρησκεία*, ii. 23; *ὀφθαλμόδουλος*, iii. 22, Eph. vi. 6; *ἀνθρωπάρεσκος*, iii. 22, Eph. vi. 6; *ἀπολλοτριόω*, i. 21, Eph. ii. 12, iv. 18.

The Latin text suffers from the usual failing—if failing it really is—in that it adheres to no consistent rendering of Greek terms. Thus in i. 9 and iii. 10 *ἐπίγνωσις* is translated "agnitio," in i. 10 (11) "scientia"; in i. 12 *ἱκανώσαντι ἡμας* is given as "dignos nos fecit" instead of "idoneos fecit," as in 2 Cor. iii. 6; in i. 24 "passio" is used to render *παθήμασιν* and *θλίψεων* alike; so, too, *μυστήριον* is translated "mysterium" in i. 26 and ii. 2, but "sacramentum" in i. 27; in ii. 4 and 8 "decipiat" stands for *παραλογίζηται* and *συλαγωγῶν*; in ii. 12 the full force of *συνεργέρθητε* is lost by not rendering it "*con*surrexistis," as in iii. 1; the ordinary Latin reading, "chirographum decreti," is not that of the best Latin MSS., which read "decretis"; similarly the ordinary Latin text has in ii. 23 "non ad parcendum," which is unintelligible, the best MSS. have "ad non parcendum"; a very curious rendering is "exultet" for *βραβευέτω* in iii. 15, whereas *καταβραβευέτω*, in ii. 18, is rightly given as "seducat," which expresses the meaning, though "spoliet" or "defraudet" would be a more literal rendering. In ii. 18 the Vulgate reads "quæ *non* videt ambulans," "intruding into what he has not seen"; this makes exceedingly good sense, but seems to be unsupported by MS. authority; see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 2nd *ed.*, p. 254.

E. The Epistle to the Colossians and that to the Ephesians.

The *Epistles to the Colossians* and to the *Ephesians* are "sister Epistles."[1] They were despatched at the same time, and they treat of the same subjects, though from slightly different standpoints. Generally speaking, in *Colossians* we learn of Christ the Head of the Church, in *Ephesians* of the Church the body of Christ. It is not surprising, then, to find the same expressions recurring in both Epistles; the same current of ideas was in the Apostle's mind as he wrote, and he expresses them sometimes in almost identical words. A comparison, in the

[1] See St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* X. 1 in *Ep. ad Coloss.*, *P.G.* LXII. 365.

Greek text, of the passages given below[1] will show how akin in sentiment are these two Epistles. Students of the *Synoptic Problem* will note how the same facts are here presented with a concurrent similarity and dissimilarity which is perfectly natural, and which may help to throw light on certain features of that problem.[2]

F. The Epistle from the Laodiceans.

The puzzling statement in iv. 16 that this Epistle is to be read in their Church and then to be sent to the Laodicean Church for them to read it, and that conversely the Colossians are to read *that which is of the Laodiceans*, has been variously explained. Theodore of Mopsuestia understood it to mean a letter written by the Laodiceans to St. Paul,[3] and he is followed by Theodoret.[4] St. Chrysostom mentions this view as held by some,[5] and it is endorsed by Baronius.[6] But the whole context, as well as the construction of the sentence, seems to demand an Epistle written by the Apostle to the Laodiceans precisely as that to the Colossians had been written; they were simply to interchange Epistles. If this be granted, it becomes question of the identity of this Pauline Epistle to the Laodiceans. *First Timothy* has been suggested, *viz.* by St. John Damascene[7] and by

[1]

Colossians.	*Ephesians.*	*Colossians.*	*Ephesians.*
i. 1-2	i. 1	i. 29	iii. 7
i. 3	i. 16	ii. 7	iii. 17
i. 4, 9	i. 15	ii. 13	ii. 1
i. 5	i. 13	iii. 1	ii. 6
i. 12	i. 18	iii. 6	v. 6, *cp.* ii. 2
i. 14	i. 7	iii. 8-10	iv. 22, 25
i. 16	i. 21	iii. 16	v. 19
i. 21-22	ii. 12-13	iii. 18	v. 22
i. 23	iii. 7	iii. 20	vi. 1
i. 25	iii. 7	iii. 21	vi. 4
i. 26	iii. 3	iv. 1	vi. 9
i. 27	i. 18	iv. 3	vi. 19
i. 28	v. 27	iv. 7	vi. 21

[2] See *Expository Times*, June, 1916, and *R.B.*, 1912, p. 368.
[3] *In loco*, Swete's *ed.*, I. 311.
[4] *In loco*, *P.G.*
[5] *Hom.* xii. 1, *P.G.* LXII. 381.
[6] See A.D. 60, *cap.* xiii.
[7] But he mentions the view that it was written by the Laodiceans themselves.

Theophylact;[1] the Philoxenian Syriac version, too, has a marginal note to this effect. But apart from the unsuitableness of that Epistle — for it is peculiarly individual in character,—the chronological difficulty seems insuperable. A colophon to the Philoxenian Syriac suggests 1 *Thessalonians.* This is chronologically possible but intrinsically absurd. The same must be said of the proposed identification with the *Epistle to the Galatians.* The present tendency is to identify this Laodicean Epistle with our present *Ephesians.* The encyclical character of *Ephesians* seems fairly well established,[2] and it might be plausibly argued that the very expression St. Paul makes use of, "that which is of (or *from*, ἐκ) the Laodiceans," implies that this Epistle was not like the one sent to Colossæ, but a general Epistle which was to go the rounds. Still, over against this we have the fact that the same treatment is apparently to be applied to the Colossian Epistle as to that which was to be sent on by the Laodiceans; it, too, was to go the rounds—at least it was to go to the Laodicean Church. But then our *Epistle to the Colossians* is in no sense a circular letter. Moreover, the Laodiceans might well feel slighted at finding that, whereas they had received a purely impersonal letter such as *Ephesians*, the Colossians, on the other hand, who had no greater claim than they on the Apostle, had yet received a very personal letter indeed. Hence it is not surprising that this letter "from the Laodiceans" has been regarded as lost, and that consequently from the very earliest times Epistles purporting to be the missing one have been put in circulation. Even such famous MSS. of the Vulgate Latin as *Fuldensis*, *Cavensis*, and *Toletanus*, have this Epistle in a Latin dress. John of Salisbury even went so far as to term it "the fifteenth Epistle of St. Paul," though while upholding its authenticity he denied its canonicity.[3] As a

[1] *In loco*, *P.G.* CXXV, he also mentions the view that it was written by the Laodiceans.

[2] See *Introduction to Ephesians, supra*, pp. 167-171.

[3] John of Salisbury died A.D. 1182. His actual words are worth noting. He had been asked by Count Henry of Champagne which were the books of the Bible and who were their authors. For the New Testament he answers: "The Gospel of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, comprised in one volume with the fifteen Epistles of Paul. At the same time it is the general and practically unanimous opinion

matter of fact, the Epistle which is still printed nowadays from time to time as *St. Paul to the Laodiceans* is quite unworthy of the interest it has aroused. It is no more than a cento of passages from the other Epistles, and only too patently a forgery.[1] Those who feel that the difficulties in the way of accepting *Ephesians* as a circular letter and of regarding it as the letter to be sent on by the Laodicean Church must take refuge in the view that the original *Epistle to the Laodiceans* is lost.

G. Theology of the Epistle.

God and the Father: Christ is made in His image, Col. i. 15; it pleased the Father that in Christ all fulness should dwell, i. 19; and through Him to reconcile all to Himself, i. 20; He has made known to the Saints the mystery of the call of the Gentiles through Christ, i. 26-27; He has raised up Christ from the dead, ii. 2, 12; and hath quickened us in Him, ii. 14; He is the source of grace, i. 3; He hath made us worthy to be partakers of the lot of the Saints, i. 12; and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love, i. 13; to Him we owe thanks, i. 3, 12, iv. 17.

The Christology: Christ is *the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature*, i. 15, iii. 10; in Him *are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*, ii. 3; He is *the Head of all principality and power*, ii. 10, 15; in Him and by Him all things *visible and invisible were created*, i. 16; He is *before all*, and *by Him all things consist*, i. 17; all fulness dwells in Him, i. 19, ii. 9; the Old Testament ritual was but *a shadow of things to come, but the body is Christ*, ii. 17; the mystery to be revealed is Christ, *the hope of glory for the Gentiles*, i. 27, iv. 3; we are redeemed through His blood, and have thereby remission of our sins, i. 14, 20, ii. 13; His Cross is the medium of reconciliation with the Father, i. 20, 22; by

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that there are really only fourteen Epistles of Paul, *viz.* ten to Churches and four to persons, if, that is, the *Epistle to the Hebrews* is to be accounted as his, as the Doctor of Doctors, St. Jerome, seems to insist in his *Preface* wherein he demolishes the arguments of those who say it is not St. Paul's. Yet there is a fifteenth Epistle—that to the Laodiceans, and though, as Jerome says, it is rejected by everybody, still it was written by the Apostle." This point John considers decided by Col. iv. 16. "There follow the seven *Catholic Epistles* in one volume, then the *Acts of the Apostles* in another, and finally the *Apocalypse*," *Ep.* CXLIII., *P.L.* CXCIX. 125. This passage is interesting, apart from its views regarding the contents of the N.T. Canon, for the information it affords regarding the way the books of N.T. were bound up and in what order.

[1] The Latin text will be found in Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 287 *ff.*; the Greek text is given by Nestle in his edition of the Greek Testament.

it He has *blotted out the decree that was against us*, ii. 14; He was raised from the dead by the Father, ii. 12; He is now at the right hand of the Father, iii. 1; He is *the Head of His body* which is *the Church*, He is *the beginning* (*cp.* John viii. 25), *the first-born of the dead*, i. 18, 24, ii. 12, 19; in Him we must have faith, i. 4, ii. 5, 12; in Him we must be *rooted and built up*, ii. 7; with Him we must be *filled*, ii. 10; He is our life, iii. 4; He is *all in all*, iii. 11; we are *buried with Him in Baptism*, ii. 12, 20, iii. 3, 20; with Him we are risen, ii. 17; every man must be perfect in Him, i. 28; His peace must rejoice our hearts, iii. 15; His word must dwell in us, iii. 16; all must be done in His name, iii. 17; in Him St. Paul labours, i. 29; and he fills up *what is wanting of the sufferings of Christ*, i. 24. Note the expression *in Christ*, i. 2, 4, 16, 28, ii. 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, iv. 7, etc.

Faith: is in Christ, i. 4, ii. 5; they must continue in the faith, i. 23; must be steadfast in it, ii. 5; confirmed in it, ii. 7; faith in the Resurrection of Christ, ii. 12; Tychicus, Onesimus, and the rest, are spoken of as "faithful" brethren, i. 2, iv. 7, 9.

Hope: its goal, i. 12, 22, 28, iii. 1-2, 4; it is laid up in heaven, i. 5; it is the reward of inheritance, iii. 24; the hope of the Gospel, i. 23; the hope of glory, i. 27.

Charity: must be mutual, i. 4; in the Spirit, i. 8; they are instructed in charity, ii. 2; it is the "bond of perfection," iii. 14.

Peace: is from God, i. 3; from Christ, i. 3; the "peace of Christ," iii. 15.

Joy: is combined with long-suffering, i. 11; they must learn to joy in sufferings, i. 24; the Apostle rejoices in their "order," ii. 5; and in the peace of Christ, iii. 15-16.

Sin: they were dead in sin, ii. 13; and in evil works, i. 21; details touching sin, iii. 5, 8, 9; the remission of sin, i. 14, ii. 13.

The Church: is the body of Christ, i. 18, 24, ii. 19; perhaps "the kingdom of God," iv. 11; is one body, iii. 15; the "order" of the Church at Colossæ, ii. 5; "of the Saints at Colossæ," i. 2; at Laodicea, ii. 1, iv. 13, 15, 16; at Hierapolis, iv. 13; in the "house of Nymphas," iv. 15.

The Moral Teaching of the Epistle: (*a*) Christians must grow in knowledge of God, i. 9, 10, ii. 2; (*b*) they must be men of prayer, iv. 2-4; (*c*) they must walk wisely, redeeming the time, iv. 5; (*d*) they must put on the new man, iii. 10; (*e*) and must put on Christ, iii. 12; (*f*) they must have a mutual charity, iii. 13-14; (*g*) and should occupy themselves with spiritual canticles, iii. 16; (*h*) all impurity must be banished from their midst, iii. 5-6; (*i*) also all anger, iii. 8; (*j*) and lying, iii. 9; (*k*) the duties of husbands and wives, iii. 18-19; (*l*) of children and parents, iii. 20-21; (*m*) of servants and masters, iii. 22-iv. 1.

The Mystery of Faith: 1 Tim. iii. 9 expresses in briefest form what may be termed the key-note to St. Paul's theological teaching, *viz.* the call of the Gentiles to salvation through Christ by faith, apart from the works of the Mosaic Law. Thus, Rom. xi. 25, he dwells on *this mystery, that blindness in part hath happened in Israel until the fulness of*

the Gentiles should come in, and so all Israel (i.e., the Israel of God, Gal. vi. 16) *should be saved.* And more explicitly, Rom. xvi. 25-26, *the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret from eternity, but now is made manifest by the Scriptures of the Prophets according to the precept of the Eternal God, made known among all nations for obedience to the faith, according to my Gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ.*

This mystery was (*a*) kept hidden, 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8, Eph. iii. 10, Col. i. 26; and (*b*) this was according to the determining will of God, 1 Cor. ii. 7, Eph. i. 9; (*c*) it is revealed by the Spirit, 1 Cor. ii. 10; (*d*) to the Saints and Apostles, Eph. iii. 3, 1 Cor. ii. 6, 8, 10, Col. i. 26; (*e*) the Apostles are the dispensers of this mystery, 1 Cor. iv. 1, Eph. iii. 7, Col. ii. 2; (*f*) for it Paul is a bondsman, Eph. vi. 20, Col. iv. 3; (*g*) it is revealed in the fulness of time, Eph. i. 10, *cp.* Gal. iv. 4; (*h*) especially has it been revealed to St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 25, "my Gospel" (*cp.* Eph. vi. 19), Eph. iii. 3-4; and (*i*) this mystery is the re-establishment of all things in Christ, Eph. i. 10, iii. 4, 8, Col. ii. 2, iv. 3, Rom. xvi. 26.

This same "mystery" is referred to in 1 Tim. iii. 16; possibly, too, in Apoc. x. 7.

H. Bibliography.

In addition to the Biblical Encyclopædias see especially Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 8th *ed.*, 1886; Macpherson, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, 1892; Abbott, *Commentary on Ephesians and Colossians*, 1897. Of Patristic Commentaries we have those of Theodore of Mopsuestia edited by Swete, vol. i., 1880; of St. Chrysostom, *P.G.* LXII.; and of Primasius, *P.L.* LXVIII.

THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS

A. Thessalonica and the Thessalonians; the Foundation of the Church.
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A. Thessalonica and the Thessalonians; the Foundation of the Church.

The city of Thessalonica may be justly termed the most famous city after Rome till the rise of Constantinople. It was one of those great cities which arose from the ashes of the imperial ideas of Alexander the Great, for it was founded in 315 B.C. by his brother-in-law, Cassander, who called it after the name of his queen, a daughter of King Aridæus.[1] Its site was a well-chosen one. Situated on the Thermaic Gulf, now the Gulf of Salonica, it lay between the Adriatic and the Ægean Sea, and was able to control the immense traffic which flowed through Macedonia by

[1] Justinus, *Historiarum*, xiv. 6.

land. Through it, too, passed the famous Via Egnatia[1] which served to link up Rome with the near East. The fact that, under the name of Salonica, it has played an important part in the twentieth century, so that even previous to the outbreak of the European War it was the focus of Balkan intrigue, shows how justified its founder was in selecting this site. It is certainly remarkable that St. Paul should have chosen out three such central cities as Ephesus, Corinth, and Thessalonica for the scenes of his most extended labours; Ephesus attracted the trade and the traders of Asia, Corinth received them on their way to Rome or when returning—if they elected to travel by sea—and Thessalonica took all the land traffic. Macedonia came under Roman domination in 168 B.C., and was then divided into four parts, with Amphipolis as capital of the first part, Thessalonica of the second, Pella of the third, and Pelagonia of the fourth.[2] Later on these divisions were abolished, but St. Luke seems to make allusion to them.[3] Thessalonica continued to flourish; Livy speaks of it as "celeberrima urbs,"[4] while Pliny refers to its state of freedom—it is "liberæ conditionis."[5] Many of Cicero's letters to Atticus are dated from this city. Unlike Philippi, which St. Luke describes as "a city of Macedonia, the first of the district, a colonia,"[6] *i.e.* a Roman *colonia* with prætors[7] and with the right to call themselves "Romans,"[8] Thessalonica was always and essentially a Greek city. And St. Luke describes it as such; in it there were "devout Greeks a great multitude,"[9] who were ruled by "Politarchs" or "rulers of the city,"[10] while one of St. Paul's supporters there bore the distinctively Greek name of "Jason."[11] It is certainly remarkable that the title "Politarch," though otherwise known only in a few inscriptions, should occur on an arch which formerly spanned a roadway in Thessalonica, and that, among other names, this same inscription should contain names borne by companions of the Apostle,

[1] Polybius, XXXIV. xii. 3, *cp.* Strabo, VII, and especially the *Fragmenta*, Bohn, vol. ii.
[2] See Diodorus Siculus, XXXI. viii. 8; also Livy, xlv. 30.
[3] Acts xvi. 12. [4] *L.c.* [5] *Hist. Naturalis*, iv. 10.
[6] *L.c.* [7] Acts xvi. 20. [8] *Ibid.* 21.
[9] *Ibid.* xvii. 4. [10] *Ibid.* 8. [11] *Ibid.*

viz. Sosipater, Gaius, and Secundus.[1] In later imperial times Thessalonica played an important part in the empire of the East; Theodosius the Great, who took up his residence there, stained his record by the massacre of its inhabitants.[2]

Such, then, was the great city to which St. Paul came from the Roman Colonia of Philippi: Eastern, Greek, Jewish; a centre of commerce and activity; a place whence, as he says in his first letter to them, the Gospel could and did spread abroad in all directions.

St. Paul founded the Church in Thessalonica in the course of his second missionary journey. Landing in Europe at Neapolis,[3] he passed thence to Philippi, where he founded the Church, but was expelled at the instance of the Jews.[4] From Philippi he and Silas—and apparently Timothy—came through Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica where there was a large community of Jews who possessed a synagogue.[5] In this synagogue St. Paul disputed for three successive Sabbaths, with the result that "some of them (*i.e.* of the Jews) believed," as also did a large number of "those who served God," *viz.* the proselytes, and "of the Gentiles a great multitude, and of noble women not a few."[6] It is evident that St. Luke has compressed the account of this mission very much, for whereas we should at first sight conclude that the Apostle's missionary work in Thessalonica only lasted for the space of "three Sabbaths," it is clear that the Gentiles could not have heard the Gospel in the synagogue. Luke makes this clearer when he tells us that the enraged Jews stormed "Jason's house" and exacted from Jason and other leading people some pledge that St. Paul should be silenced. This shows us that, precisely as at Corinth,[7] the Apostle was compelled to desist from teaching in the synagogue, and had to establish himself in the house of some friendly person who allowed him to use his house as a nascent Church, and that during this period

[1] See the British Museum Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 1908, p. 99.

[2] See St. Ambrose's letter to him on the subject, *Ep.* LI. 6, *P.L.* XVI. 1161.

[3] Acts xvi. 11. [4] *Ibid.* xvi. 39. [5] *Ibid.* xvii. 1.

[6] *Ibid.* 4. [7] *Ibid.* xviii. 7.

—the length of which is not stated—the Gentiles were converted. From Thessalonica Paul, Silas and Timothy[1] passed on to Berea, whence too the Jews from Thessalonica drove out Paul, though Silas and Timothy remained behind. The Apostle himself went on to Athens where he dismissed those who had accompanied him, but told them to tell Silas and Timothy to come on as soon as possible.[2] From Athens he passed to Corinth,[3] whither Silas and Timothy also came from Macedonia.[4] Thus far St. Luke. He has shown us in a few broad lines the formation of a Church; a few Jews only accepted St. Paul's preaching, but a very large number of Gentiles and proselytes were admitted to the fold. "According to his custom,"[5] he says, Paul began with the synagogue, and devoted three Sabbath days to disputation with the Jews. Luke does not tell us in so many words that this was a failure, nor does he say that the Apostle was driven to turn to the Gentiles, but the whole tenor of the narrative implies it. He also tells us what Paul set out to teach the Jews: he proved to them from the Scriptures that their promised Messias was to be "the Man of sorrows," but that He was to rise again, and that Jesus was this same Christ. Probably St. Paul always and of necessity preached on the same theme; he did so at Antioch of Pisidia;[6] he only varied the procedure in pagan centres like Athens,[7] where he discoursed on natural religion, turning, however, to the one inevitable theme, Jesus the suffering yet risen Messias.[8] No reader of *Acts*, however, would gather that the work done at Thessalonica was as successful and fruitful of results as that done at Antioch, for St. Luke gives us but a brief glimpse of the Apostle's stay there. When we turn from the story of the foundation of the Galatian Churches to the *Epistle to the Galatians*, we merely find confirmation of what we had learnt from *Acts*, though it is true that we are shown a crisis which had arisen in the Galatian Church. But when we turn from Acts xvii to the *Epistles to the Thessalonians*, we are made to realize that Luke's narrative gives us but the bare skeleton, a sample, as it were, of what the Apostle did everywhere. For the

[1] Acts xvii. 10, 15.
[2] *Ibid.* 15.
[3] *Ibid.* xviii. 1.
[4] *Ibid.* 5.
[5] *Ibid.* xvii. 2.
[6] *Ibid.* xiv.
[7] *Ibid.* xvii.
[8] *Ibid.* xvii. 3.

Thessalonian Epistles show us a Church in full vigour; the faith, hope, and charity of its members call for high praise;[1] they are even called "a pattern to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia."[2] We see that Paul's reception among them had been quite exceptional;[3] they had had to endure persecution already for their faith,[4] and this, be it noted, at the hands of the Gentiles, "your own countrymen,"[5] not, as we should have been inclined to gather from *Acts*, from the Jews. Moreover, though only a comparatively short time has elapsed since the Apostle left them,[6] it is clear that occasion had been taken to present him in a very unfavourable light; he had been called a "flatterer," he had been accused of working for human praise, men said he was preaching for gain, etc.[7] These charges he rebuts with the same vehemence as in 2 *Corinthians* and *Galatians*. But the fact that such accusations had been made, and that, in addition, his converts had had to endure persecution, has made him anxious for their stability in the faith. Therefore he says that, though unable to come personally,[8] he decided to remain at Athens and send Timothy to comfort them. We should certainly gather from this that Timothy had rejoined the Apostle at Athens, and not at Corinth as *Acts* implies,[9] and that he had been sent from Athens back to Thessalonica. The truth is that each account is compressed, Luke's in the interests of an abbreviated history, Paul's owing to the exigencies of a letter. Piecing the two accounts together, then, we must suppose that Silas and Timothy remained at Berea while Paul went on to Athens, whence he passed to Corinth; there the other two met him. From Corinth Timothy was despatched after a short interval which was, however, sufficiently long to allow news not only from Thessalonica itself but also from Macedonia and Achaia to reach them.[10] The news brought by Timothy was reassuring;[11] but it is evident that he had shown the Apostle that the pagan leaven of impurity still infected them,[12] that they were restless among themselves,[13] and had

[1] 1 Thess. i. 3. [2] *Ibid.* i. 7. [3] *Ibid.* i. 9, ii. 13.
[4] *Ibid.* ii. 14. [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.* ii. 17.
[7] ii. 3-12. [8] iii. 2. [9] Acts xviii. 5.
[10] 1 Thess. i. 7-9, ii. 10. [11] *Ibid.* ii. 6-7.
[12] *Ibid.* iv. 1-8. [13] *Ibid.* iv. 11, v. 14.

difficulties with those who had not embraced the faith.[1] A further difficulty had arisen touching the speedy coming of Christ. For some of their body had already departed this life, and the survivors wondered how these latter were to have a share in the joys of that coming. The Apostle replies by insisting upon the individual resurrection of the dead.[2] At the same time he takes occasion to warn them that this coming of Christ will be sudden, and that in consequence it behoves them all not to sleep but to watch.[3] He also exhorts them to submission to their appointed superiors[4] and to a mutual charity and forbearance.[5] The Epistle closes with general precepts regarding the practical Christian life;[6] his letter is to "be read to all the holy brethren."[7] Everything, then, in these two Epistles points to a considerable time spent in their midst by St. Paul, as also to a distinctly long interval between his leaving them and the despatch of *First Thessalonians;* thus St. Paul's account of his own work among them,[8] wherein he describes himself as "labouring among them night and day," and as leading a blameless life with them, precludes the idea of a stay of merely three weeks; the same holds good for the lapse of time between his departure and the despatch of the first letter, for there has been time for the Thessalonians to become "a pattern,"[9] for Timothy to go and come and hand in a report upon them,[10] for an exhibition of extensive charity on their part towards Macedonia in general,[11] and for some of their number to die.[12] This is confirmed, too, by the statement that the Philippians had twice sent him supplies when he was actually at Thessalonica.[13]

All this is of interest, since a combination of *Acts* with the Thessalonian Epistles enables us to reconstruct St. Paul's procedure in establishing these early Churches. We are shown how he lived and how he preached, and what kind of calumnies he had to meet with. He was writing from Corinth, and from that same city he was to meet at a later time with calumny and opposition of a far graver kind.

[1] 1 Thess. iv. 11. [2] iv. 12-17. [3] *Ibid.* v. 1-11.
[4] *Ibid.* v. 12-13. [5] *Ibid.* 14-15. [6] *Ibid.* 16-22.
[7] *Ibid.* 27. [8] *Ibid.* ii. 7-12, 2 Thess. iii. 7-10.
[9] 1 Thess. i. 7-8. [10] *Ibid.* iii. 6. [11] *Ibid.* iv. 10.
[12] *Ibid.* iv. 13. [13] Phil. iv. 15-16.

It is of interest, too, to compare the reception accorded St. Paul in Thessalonica and in Athens. A Gentile crowd in the latter place laughs him to scorn for speaking of the resurrection; in the former place it is precisely this doctrine which he preaches, as well as that of Christ's Second Coming. It would seem that the business centre was more ripe for the Gospel than was the academic centre. How the Church flourished in Thessalonica we can perhaps gauge from the extent of the persecution there at a later time. Melito had to remind the Emperor Antoninus of the protests which his predecessors had to make to the authorities about the way in which the Christians were persecuted there.[1]

B. Analysis of the First Epistle.

A. i. 1-3. *The opening salutations.*

B. i. 4-iii. 13. *The historical portion of the Epistle.*

(*a*) i. 4-10. He dwells upon the whole-hearted way in which they had received him, and he rejoices in their faith, which *in every place is gone forth;* they live waiting for the coming of the Son of God from heaven.

(*b*) ii. 1-12. He dwells also upon his own life in their midst, and reminds them of the spirit in which he had preached to them, and of how he had gained his livelihood by the toil of his own hands.

(*c*) ii. 13-20. His gratitude to God because they had received his teaching, *not as the word of man, but as the word of God;* but they will have to suffer at the hands of their own countrymen, as he himself has had to do; his confidence in them, his desire to come to them; they are his *hope in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at His coming.*

(*d*) iii. 1-13. Though unable to come to them, he had sent to them Timothy; his joy at Timothy's good report of them; his prayer that they may be found ready *at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all His Saints.*

C. iv-v. *The moral teaching of the Epistle.*

(*a*) iv. 1-8. They must live in purity: *for this is the will of God, your sanctification . . . for God hath not called us unto uncleanness.*

(*b*) iv. 9-11. He has no need to demand of them mutual charity, for they have given an example of it; but they must be quiet, working with their own hands.

(*c*) iv. 12-v. 11. Neither are they to be anxious lest those who are already dead should fail to have a share in the joys of

[1] *H.E.* IV. xxvi. 10; *cp.* Allard, *The Martyrs*, Engl. tr., pp. 25 and 85.

the coming of Christ: for *we who are alive, who remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not precede them that are fallen asleep . . . the dead who are in Christ shall rise first, and then we who are alive shall be taken up together with them . . . to meet Christ.* This "day of the Lord" shall *come as a thief in the night;* they, however, will, he trusts, be ready, for they are *the children of the day, and not of the night.*

(*d*) v. 12-22. He urges them to obedience to their prelates who are *over you in the Lord;* peace, patience, charity, prayer, and the spirit of thanksgiving must be their characteristics.

(*e*) v. 23-28. His final prayer for them: that the *God of peace may sanctify them in body, soul, and spirit,* so that they may be *blameless in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.* His letter is to be read to all the holy brethren.

C. The Authenticity and Canonicity of the Two Epistles.

The evidence afforded by 1 *Thessalonians* itself is all in favour of the unshaken tradition that it is really St. Paul's. Timothy and Silvanus (Silas), who are bracketed with him in the opening address, were his companions at Thessalonica, as the *Acts* show us.[1] And though it would be natural for a forger to insert these names in view of the patent facts in *Acts*, yet it is more than doubtful whether such a forger would have dared to give a variant for the name of Silas.[2] Moreover, there is absolutely nothing in the Epistle which would induce a forger to compose it, for the writer has no axe to grind; the doctrines set forth are only such as we should expect. The very plain speaking about the resurrection[3] was the inevitable reply to difficulties which were equally inevitable among people who had heard for the first time such astounding teaching as that which St. Paul had to set forth.[4] Moreover, whatever St. Paul may have meant, there can be no doubt that his words about Christ's Second Coming could be taken to imply that this was to take place almost immediately; the same was the case with Our Lord's own words on the subject.[5] Would a forger have been likely to commit St. Paul, at least in appearance, to a doctrine which was so disputable? The allusion too—and it is no more than an allusion—to the Judaizers[6] would

[1] Acts xviii. 12-17.
[2] *Ibid.* 18.
[3] 1 Thess. iv. 12-17.
[4] Acts xvii. 3.
[5] Matt. x. 23, xvi. 28, *cp.* Mark viii. 39, Luke ix. 27.
[6] 1 Thess. ii. 14-16.

involve an extraordinarily delicate piece of work on the part of any forger. For at this time the Apostle had suffered much at the hands of this faction; yet how slight is the allusion to them! St. Paul merely points out that the Thessalonian Christians have suffered at the hands of their own countrymen much in the same fashion as the Judæan Churches have suffered from their fellow-countrymen, "prohibiting us to speak to the Gentiles, that they may be saved." Judaizing was as yet unknown in this European town, but its roots were there of necessity, since such antagonism was inevitable wheresoever Jews were congregated. Is it likely that a forger would have been able to resist the temptation to enlarge upon the theme? Lastly, it must be acknowledged that the whole tone of the Epistle is precisely that to which we are accustomed in the other and unquestioned Epistles.

The two Epistles were known and quoted at a very early date. Thus St. Polycarp quotes them at least four times in one chapter;[1] Tertullian analyzes them in his treatise against Marcion though, curiously enough, he does not name them;[2] the historian of the martyrs of Vienne, *c.* A.D. 177, in the vivid narrative of whose passion there are so many references to the New Testament literature, seems to be thinking of 2 *Thessalonians* when he speaks of the "Adversary";[3] Eusebius himself talks of "the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul" as well known to all;[4] St. Justin, in his account of Christ's Second Coming, seems to draw from 2 *Thessalonians*;[5] lastly, St. Irenæus quotes 1 *Thessalonians*,[6] and expressly quotes "Apostolus in Epistola quæ est ad Thessalonicenses secunda."[7]

In recent years critics, such as Wrede, Harnack, and Lake, have urged that the distinctively "Jewish" tone of 2 *Thessalonians*, as contrasted with the first Epistle, suggests that the community at Thessalonica was sharply divided into two sections—Judæo-Christian converts, to whom the second Epistle was addressed, and Gentile converts, who were especially appealed to in the first Epistle. They refer in particular to the apparent insistence on "all" the brethren in 1 Thess. v. 26-27, and to the statement about the Apostle's signature as the proof of authenticity in

[1] *Ad Phil.* xi.
[2] *Adv. Marcionem*, V. xv-xvi.
[3] *H.E.* V. i. 5, ὁ ἀντικείμενος, as in 2 Thess. ii. 4.
[4] *H.E.* III. iii. 5.
[5] *Dial.* 110, *P.G.* VI. 730.
[6] *Adv. Hær.* V. xxx. 2, *P.G.* VII. 1205.
[7] *Ibid.* V. xxv. 1, 1189, *cp.* xxv. 2, 1190, and xxviii. 2, 1198.

2 Thess. iii. 17. This distinction between the recipients of the two Epistles would—so they claim—explain what they regard as the entirely different tone pervading the two Epistles. But it may be questioned whether there really is such a marked difference in tone; while it is not easy to grasp their arguments when urging that the second Epistle is markedly Jewish in character. A simpler solution would be that the warmth which characterizes the former Epistle is naturally not so marked a feature of the second Epistle since it is but a sequel to the former.[1]

D. The Date of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians.

It seems beyond question that St. Paul wrote this Epistle during the eighteen months he spent at Corinth.[2] But it will not fall in the earlier months of his sojourn there, for St. Luke implies that the preaching to the Jews in the Corinthian synagogue lasted some time—"every Sabbath."[3] Further, time must be allowed for reports of the state of the Thessalonian Church to reach him,[4] as well as for Timothy's mission and its result.[5] Again, it must have been written previous to the scene before Gallio,[6] and that this did not take place quite at the close of the eighteen months is clear from St. Luke's statement that after this event "Paul stayed yet many days"[7] Thus we are limited to a period of some nine months during which the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* may have been written, and in view of the conclusions arrived at in the chapter on the *Chronology of the Apostolic Age* we can refer this Epistle with fair certainty to the year A.D. 51.

[1] See *Expository Times*, December, 1910, pp. 131-133, for Lake's summary of the question, and December, 1911, pp. 97-100, for a brief account of the whole controversy.

[2] Acts xviii. 11.
[3] *Ibid.* 4.
[4] 1 Thess. i. 7-9, iv. 10.
[5] *Ibid.* iii. 6-8.
[6] Acts xviii. 12-17.
[7] *Ibid.* 18.

E. Analysis of the Second Epistle.

A. i. 1-3. *The opening salutations.*

B. i. 3-ii. 16. *Doctrinal teaching regarding the coming of Our Lord.*

(*a*) i. 3-12. He rejoices in their faith, as also in their tribulations for the sake of their faith. They must not be discouraged at these troubles, for *you who are troubled shall rest with us when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with the angels of His power.* He prays that they may be made worthy of this high vocation.

(*b*) ii. 1-16. He warns them to entertain no false ideas—as though derived from his words or his letters—that this coming of the Lord is immediate. For there must first come a *revolt; the man of sin, the son of perdition, must be revealed . . . in his time.* It is true that *the mystery of iniquity already worketh,* but there is a power *that withholdeth* at present; when it, however, shall be taken away, *then that wicked one shall be revealed.*

(*c*) ii. 12-16. His gratitude to God for their vocation; they are the *firstfruits unto salvation . . . called by our Gospel.* Therefore let them hold fast *the traditions they have learned,* and may God *confirm them in every good work and word.*

C. iii. 1-15. *The moral teaching of the Epistle.*

(*a*) iii. 1-6. They must pray for him *that the word of God may run.* He has full confidence in them, only let *the patience of Christ* be in them.

(*b*) iii. 7-15. Let them avoid all disturbing elements, for there are some who disturb them by refusing to work; but *if any man will not work, neither let him eat.* In support of this declaration he dwells on the fact that he himself, when among them, toiled *night and day lest we should be chargeable to any of you.*

D. iii. 16-18. *Concluding salutations: The Lord of peace give you everlasting peace. The salutation of Paul with mine own hand: the sign in every Epistle.*

F. The Connecting Link between these Two Epistles.

The connecting link between these two Epistles is, of course, to be found in the Apostle's teaching concerning the Second Coming of Christ. When we set out the doctrine on this point as given in both Epistles we are in a position to realize the interdependence of the two letters as well as the entire teaching of St. Paul on a point which is always much misunderstood. In the first Epistle the Apostle

speaks of Christ's coming as something for which men are to hope,[1] to await,[2] which will be concomitant with "the wrath to come."[3] At the same time he has learnt that many at Thessalonica are disturbed at the thought that those who are already dead will not share in the glories of that "coming."[4] He points out, however, that such fear is inconsistent with a true understanding of the resurrection; "we who are alive, who remain unto the coming of the Lord," "who are alive and are left," shall at that hour meet the dead "who shall rise first."[5] He insists, however, that the time of that "coming" is unknown,[6] and that the Thessalonians themselves "know perfectly" that that day shall come as "a thief in the night." This is the teaching of the first Epistle. At first sight it might be thought that in the repeated expression—"we who are alive" at that time—the Apostle at least implied that he himself expected that that "coming" would take place in the lifetime of many to whom he wrote. St. Chrysostom's commentary on iv. 12-17 is worth noting:

"When he says 'we' he is not speaking of himself, for he was not to remain until the resurrection; he is speaking of the faithful. Then he adds, 'who remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them who have slept'; as though he would say: 'Do not imagine that there is any difficulty in the matter when you hear it said that those who are alive then shall not prevent those who are already dissolved, who are putrefied, who have been dead already more than ten thousand years, for it is God Who does it. For just as it is easy for Him to bring forward men in a state of integrity, so, too, to bring forward men who have been dissolved in corruption.'"[7]

And this accords with St. Paul's insistence that the time of that "coming" is hidden. If he had really meant that some of those who were living when he wrote were to be still living at Christ's Second Coming, he could hardly speak of it as hidden. He would at least have had to say that it was within a generation. But nothing is further from his thought. In the second Epistle the Apostle comforts his converts by the assurance that at Christ's coming He will repay them for the troubles they have had to endure.[8] But he immediately passes on to adjure them "that ye be not

[1] i. 3, ii. 14, iii. 13. [2] i. 10. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] iv. 12-17. [5] *Ibid.* [6] v. 1.
[7] *Hom.* VII. 2 in 1 *Thess.*, *P.G.* LXII. 436. [8] i. 7.

easily moved from your mind, nor be frighted, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by epistle as though sent by us, as if the day of the Lord were at hand."[1] Clearly, since the receipt of his first letter the Thessalonians had been alarmed and had been expecting the speedy coming of Christ. But equally clearly this was not due to anything contained in that letter. For the Apostle's words are carefully chosen. Had they misread his words, he would have pointed this out and explained himself. But instead of that he tells them that they are not to be disturbed "either by spirit"—clearly someone had claimed private revelation on the point, "nor by word"—fanatics had been at work declaring "His coming," nor by epistle purporting to be sent by St. Paul; clearly here, too, some spurious letters had been received by them, and the Apostle had been made to say what he never had said, *viz.* that Christ's coming was at hand. Any such teaching is vehemently repudiated by him, and he proceeds to show the things that must herald Christ's coming. There must first be "an apostasy," ἀποστασία, "discessio" in the Latin, and then, concomitantly with this or following immediately upon it, the advent of "the man of sin, the son of perdition," whose doings are then described in detail. He is the "adversary," ὁ ἀντικείμενος, he is "uplifted" against God, he sets himself in God's temple, he actually claims to be God. Here the Apostle interrupts his declaration by appealing to the full knowledge which he had, when present among them, imparted to them: "Remember you not that when I was yet with you I told you these things?"[2] He had evidently given them full instruction on the coming of Antichrist. He had done more; he had explained to them what it was that held Antichrist in check: "Ye know what withholdeth, τὸ κατέχον, that so he may be revealed in his time."[3] Antichrist is to come indeed, but in his appointed time—that is, in the season destined for him. It is necessary for them to grasp this, for were it not that he is "restrained," Antichrist would naturally appear at once, since "the mystery of iniquity already worketh," the spirit of evil, that is, is already abroad, and would speedily come to a head were

[1] ii. 3. [2] ii. 5. [3] ii. 6.

it not for this withholding power, "only that there is one that withholdeth (ὁ κατέχων) now until he be taken away."[1] Antichrist, then, is "restrained" until a definite predestined time, though the evil which will culminate in "the man of sin" is always at work in the world. St. Paul further declares that there is "one that withholdeth" Antichrist or his development—not the impersonal τὸ κατέχον of ver. 6, but a personal being. When this person shall be removed, then shall come the full revelation of Antichrist, and then shall Christ at His Second Coming destroy him.[2] St. Paul concludes by repeating the warning he had given above about not being misled by false rumours: "Hold the traditions which you have learned, whether by word or by our epistle."[3] From all this it will be evident that he had given the Thessalonians explicit teaching on the subject of Antichrist's coming and, consequently, on the Second Coming of Christ; his teaching in these Epistles was but supplementary to the oral instruction which had preceded them. Several points emerge: Antichrist's coming was in the hands of God and had its eternally predestined moment; humanly speaking, wickedness should speedily culminate in the appearance of "the man of sin," but the Thessalonians know well from the Apostle's oral teaching what it is that restrains his arrival, so that it may only take place at the predestined time; this withholding principle is then spoken of as a clearly-defined person, who withholds Antichrist from appearing "until he (the withholder) be taken away." Who was this "person" and what is the meaning of the transition from the impersonal to the personal—from "that which withholdeth" to "he that withholdeth"? St. Paul does not use words idly; yet the impersonal and the personal can only be identified within certain limitations; the impersonal must stand for a principle, the personal for someone who actually embodies it. And both aspects must have been perfectly well known to the Thessalonians, since the Apostle twice over makes

[1] ii. 7. So the Greek text, though it must be confessed that the construction seems elliptic. The Latin has "tantum ut qui tenet nunc, teneat donec de medio fiat"; the insertion of "teneat" saves the ellipse but can hardly be called a translation so much as a piece of exegesis (see below).

[2] ii. 8. [3] ii. 14.

appeal to the clear teaching they have received on this point.[1] It is well to insist on the extraordinarily positive character of St. Paul's teaching on this subject. In the first Epistle he sets before them in dramatic fashion the manner of the Lord's coming;[2] it is no vague apocalyptic teaching, it is not cast in metaphorical language, it is a plain, straightforward declaration of what is to happen. It is exactly the same in the second Epistle when he sketches the coming of Antichrist and fills in the broad outlines with the details we are discussing. Neither are these things mere speculations. There is no question of possible alternatives or different points of view; rather are they "the traditions you have learnt."[3] The only thing that is left uncertain is the precise time when these things shall be.

But if the Thessalonians understood what the Apostle meant by "that which withholdeth" and "he that withholdeth," subsequent generations have to grope for an explanation of these strange expressions.[4] Origen himself says: "Paul now proceeds to speak to them and teach them about him who is called Antichrist, but in obscure fashion."[5] What is this mysterious "withholding" principle? And who is it who embodies it? Tertullian has no doubt:

"There is yet another and a greater reason," he says, "why we should pray for Emperors and for the whole Imperial State and the welfare of Rome. For we well know that that mighty force which threatens the entire world and presages the very end of the world, with all the dreadful anguish which is to accompany it, is held in check by the integrity of the Roman Empire. We have no wish to experience that, and so when we pray that it may be deferred we are working for the prolongation of the Roman power."[6]

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[1] 2 Thess. ii. 5, 14, iii. 6; *cp.* 1 Thess. iv. 2.

[2] iv. 15-16. [3] 2 Thess. ii. 14.

[4] Thus St. Augustine: "'And now ye know what withholdeth,' says the Apostle; since he has said that they know he has no wish to repeat what they know. Consequently we who know not what they knew laboriously strive to get at the Apostle's meaning, but we cannot do so, more especially since what he goes on to say [about the 'mystery'] only serves to obscure his meaning. What he meant I must confess I fail to understand; however, I will set down the various guesses men have made as far as I can hear or have read," *De Civitate Dei*, XX. xix. 2, *P.L.* XLI. 686.

[5] *Contra Celsum*, VI. 45, *P.G.* XI. 1370.

[6] Apol. xxxii., *P.L.* I. 447; *cp. De Resurrectione Carnis*, xxiv, *P.L.* II. 829.

St. Chrysostom is not so positive: "That which withholdeth" may be the grace of God, but it may also be the Roman Empire—and this he thinks more probable. At any rate, it is not, he says, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, for they have by now practically ceased.[1]

St. Jerome's correspondent, Algasia, had asked him for an explanation of this passage. After paraphrasing the opening verses of chap. ii, St. Jerome continues:

"Until," he (St. Paul) says, "the Roman Empire has been destroyed and Antichrist has come Christ will not come, since He is to come precisely to destroy Antichrist. . . . Yet he would not openly say that the Roman Empire was to be destroyed, for its rulers thought it eternal. . . . Had he said out boldly that Antichrist would not come until the Roman Empire had been blotted out, there would have been good reason for a persecution of the Church that was then springing up." St. Jerome then comes to ver. 7: "For the mystery of iniquity already worketh. . . ." "This means," he says, "that in the many evils and crimes wherewith Nero, the most wicked of all the Cæsars, oppresses the world Antichrist is coming to the birth; and what he is afterwards to do is in part fulfilled in him (Nero) until the Roman Empire, which now holds in its hands all the nations of the earth, departs and is taken away; then Antichrist will come."[2] In his *Commentary on Daniel* St. Jerome speaks with more reserve: "These things," he says, *viz.* the coming of Antichrist, "were anticipated figuratively under Antiochus Epiphanes in the sense that that most wicked prince stands as a type of Antichrist who is to persecute the people of Christ; hence, too, many of our people hold that Nero, so conspicuous for his abominable crimes, was Antichrist."[3]

St. Augustine apparently refers to St. Jerome's reply to Algasia, and while repudiating the notion that Nero was therefore to come back to life, adds:

"Non absurde de ipso Romano imperio creditur dictum." He concludes: "While, then, some interpret the Apostle's words in one way, some in another, it yet remains clear that the Apostle said that Christ would not come to judge the living and the dead until Antichrist had come to seduce the souls of men";[4] and, as he elsewhere says: "Men are wont to ask: 'When will this be?' But what a foolish question! For had it availed us to know this, from whose lips could we have better learned it than from the Master's?"[5]

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[1] *Hom.* iv. 1 in 2 Thess., *P.G.* LXII. 485.

[2] *Ep.* cxxi. 11, *P.L.* XXII. 1035-1037; *cp. Ep.* cxix. 7-9.

[3] On Dan. xi., *P.L.* XXV. 568; the text is uncertain; Vallarsi prints "Domitium Neronem."

[4] *De Civitate Dei*, XIX. 1-4, *P.L.* XLI. 685-687.

[5] *Ibid.* XVIII. 53, *col.* 616. *Cp.* St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* XV. 11-26; Lactantius, *De Morte Persecutorum*, ii.

As is only to be expected, Theodore of Mopsuestia adopts an entirely different attitude on this question. As with all the Fathers, Antichrist is a man, not a demon;[1] but in ver. 4 "the temple" becomes "the temples," which he explains by "in domibus orationum"; he says that some explained the "withholder" as being the Holy Spirit working in us, and this he will concede in so far as it refers to the lives of devout men who may be said thus to strive against the spirit of evil; but the extraordinary operations of the Spirit have, he insists, ceased long ago. The real "withholder" for Theodore is God, the "Dei definitio" which decides when the "fulness of time has come"; the "mystery of iniquity working until now" is the daily insidious working of the devil already in our midst.[2] In all this there is not a word about the Roman Empire. Theodore's exegesis follows the Greek text of ver. 7, which in the Latin translation of his commentary runs "tantum qui tenet nunc, usquedum de medio fiat"; his interpretation is possible with this reading, but not with the Latin text used by St. Augustine and St. Jerome, and preserved in our present Vulgate: "tantum ut qui tenet nunc teneat donec. . . ." St. Irenæus, who treats of Antichrist at great length,[3] never discusses the interpretation of the "withholder."

G. The Vocabulary of the Thessalonian Epistles.

These two Epistles may be the earliest products of St. Paul's pen; they may even be the earliest piece of Christian literature which we possess. Arguments for authenticity derived from a man's vocabulary and style are often precarious, but even in these early Epistles St. Paul seems to betray himself in certain words and forms which he has made his own in the other Epistles. Thus we note ἀδιαλείπτως, i. 2, ii. 13, v. 17, and elsewhere only in Rom. i. 9, ix. 2; ἀναλώσει in ii. 8; ἄνεσιν, II. i. 7; ἀτόπων, iii. 2; δόξα, ii. 20; ἐκλόγη, most characteristic, i. 4 and Rom. ix. 11, xi. 5, 7, 28, Acts ix. 15; ἐνέκοψεν, ii. 18; θάλπῃ, ii. 7, *cf.* Eph. v. 20; καυχήσις, ii. 19—most Pauline of words; μόχθος, ii. 9, II. iii. 8, 2 Cor. xi. 27; νουθετοῦντας, I. v. 12, 24, II. iii. 15; παρρησιάζω, ii. 2; στέγοντες, iii. 1; στέλλεσθαι, II. iii. 6, 2 Cor. viii. 20, etc.

There are, of course, the usual number of words occurring nowhere

[1] *Cf.* St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* iv. in 2 Thess.
[2] In Swete's *ed.* II. 52-55.
[3] *Adv. Hær.* V. xxv-xxx.

else, *e.g.* ἀναμένειν, i. 10; ἀπορφανισθέντες, ii. 17; ἀτάκτως, ἠτακτήσαμεν, ἀτάκτους, II. iii. 6, 7, 11, I. v. 14; θεοδιδάκτος, iv. 8; κελεύσμα, iv. 16; ἱμειρόμενοι, ii. 8; κολακειάς, ii. 5; ὁλοτελεῖς, v. 23; σαίνεσθαι, iii. 3, etc.

The Latin text presents few features of importance; in ii. 13 "credidistis" should rather be "creditis"; ii. 19-20, "gloria" is used to render καυχήσις and δόξα, R.V. has "glorying" and "glory," and thus escapes the difficulty; iii. 10, καταρτίσαι, "compleamus," R.V. has "perfect," which hardly brings out the sense, perhaps "weld together" would be better; iv. 8, "nobis" for "vobis"; iv. 16, κελεύσμα is rendered by "jussu," R.V. "shout"; v. 12 and 14, νουθέτειν, "monent" and "corripite," better "admonish" in both cases; in II. iii. 2 ἀτόπων is well rendered "importunis," but Rheims unfortunately gives "importunate," better "unreasonable"; II. iii. 3, ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ should be noticed, *cp.* 1 John v. 19; in both places R.V. is anxious to insert the devil!

H. Decree of the Biblical Commission.

Of the Parousia, or Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Epistles of St. Paul the Apostle. To the subjoined questions the Pontifical Biblical Commission has decided to reply as follows:

I. With a view to meeting difficulties which suggest themselves in the Epistles of St. Paul and of the other Apostles when talking of what is known as the "Parousia," or Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, can Catholic exegetes maintain that the Apostles, while of course teaching nothing erroneous under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, may yet at times set forth their own human notions, whence error or deception might arise?

Reply: In the negative.

II. Bearing in mind the real meaning of the functions of an Apostle, as also St. Paul's unquestioned fidelity to the Master's teaching, as well, too, Catholic teaching regarding inspiration and the inerrancy of Scripture—a teaching which demands that everything that the sacred writer asserts, announces, or suggests must be regarded as asserted, announced, and suggested by the Holy Spirit,—bearing in mind, too, the actual passages from the Apostle, which are in perfect harmony with Christ's manner of teaching, ought we to maintain that St. Paul in his writings says nothing which is not in perfect accord with that ignorance of the

time of the Parousia which Christ Himself declared was proper to mankind?

Reply: In the affirmative.

III. Does attentive study of the Greek expression ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι, combined with patristic interpretation, notably that of St. Chrysostom, who was so perfectly acquainted with his own language as well as with St. Paul's Epistles, permit us to repudiate as far-fetched and wholly baseless the traditional interpretation given by Catholic scholars—an interpretation which even the sixteenth century reformers retained—of the Apostle's words in 1 Thess. iv. 15-17, which they understand as in no sense involving a pronouncement that the Parousia was so immediate that St. Paul could number himself and his readers amongst those of the faithful who would be alive to meet the coming Christ?

Reply: In the negative.

In an audience granted to the Consultor on June 18, 1915, our Most Holy Lord, Pope Benedict XV., ratified the above reply and ordered its publication.

LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B., *Consultor.*

ROME,
June 18, 1915.

J. The Theological Teaching of 1-2 Thessalonians.

God and the Father: He is the *Father*, i. 1, 3, iii. 11, 13, II. i. 1, 2, ii. 15; the *living and the true*, i. 9; His *kingdom*, ii. 12, II. i. 15; the *God of peace*, v. 23; His *justice* and His *vengeance*, II. i. 5-6, 10; His *wrath*, ii. 16, *cp.* i. 10; His *will*, iv. 3, v. 18; His *grace*, II. i. 12, the *Gospel of God*, ii. 2, 8, 13, II. iii. 1; Paul calls Him to *witness*, ii. 5, 10; we have to *please* Him, ii. 15, iv. 1; there are those who *know not* God, iv. 5; and who do not *obey* Him, II. i. 8.

The Christology: Christ, the Son of God, i. 10; has *redeemed* us, i. 10, v. 9; hath *purchased* us, v. 9, II. ii. 13; His *Passion*, v. 10; His *Passion and Resurrection*, iv. 13; His *Resurrection*, i. 10; His *love* for us, II. ii. 15, *cp.* John xiv. 21; His *grace*, v. 28, II. i. 12, ii. 15, iii. 8; His *Gospel*, iii. 2, iv. 14, II. i. 8; the faithful are said to be *in Christ Jesus*, ii. 14; Paul beseeches them *in Christ*, iv. 1; God wills *in Christ*, v. 18; Paul has confidence in them *in Christ*, II. iii. 4; Paul gives precepts *by Christ*, iv. 2, v. 27, II. iii. 12; His *Second Coming*, we are to *await* it, i. 10, ii. 19, iii. 13; its *manner*, it shall be sudden, both for those that are then alive as for them that already sleep, iv. 13-16, v. 1-3; the

Christian hopes to be found *blameless* then, v. 23; it is the "day of the Lord," v. 3, 4, II. ii. 2; the just will then find *rest*, the sinner *vengeance*, iv. 6; II. i. 7-10; Paul *adjures* them by Christ's coming, II. ii. 1; the *Angels* will be present, II. i. 7; so, too, the *Saints*, iii. 13, II. i. 10; Christ will then *slay* the "wicked one," II. ii. 8; but He is the *Lord of peace*, II. iii. 16.

The Holy Spirit: is given us by God, iv. 8; He enables us to receive the Gospel with joy, i. 6; through Him the Gospel is preached, i. 5; we must be careful not to extinguish the Spirit, v. 19; through God (the Holy Spirit) we have learned mutual charity, for this action of the Holy Spirit, *cf.* 1 John ii. 20, 27.

The Election and Calling: of God, i. 4, iv. 7, v. 9, 24, II. i. 11, ii. 12-13; our *correspondence* with it by faith, hope, charity, i. 3, v. 8; faith and charity, iii. 6, II. i. 3; faith, i. 8, iii. 2, 5, 7, 10, II. i. 4, 11; *unfaith*, II. iii. 2; faith in the death and resurrection of Christ, iv. 13; (*a*) *Eternal reward*, our state at Christ's Second Coming, iv. 15-16; (*b*) *Christian life* means the glorification of Christ in us, and of ourselves in Him, II. i. 12, *cp.* John xvii. 1, 23; it also means "living with Him," v. 10; (*c*) *Beatitude* is to be "with Christ," iv. 16, II. ii. 1; (*d*) *Eternal punishment*, II. i. 9.

Antichrist: is described as "the man of sin," "the son of perdition," "the wicked one," II. ii. 3, 8; he works by Satan, II. ii. 9.

K. Bibliography.

St. Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret are the principal patristic commentators; the first named is especially useful. Askwith, *Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles*, 1902; Findlay in *Cambridge Greek Testament*, 1911; Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, vi-vii., and *Notes on the Epistles;* Milligan, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians*, 1908; Plummer, *Commentary on* 1 *Thessalonians*, 1917; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, ix-xi.; Vosté, O.P., *Commentarius in Ep. ad Thessalonicenses*, Rome, 1917. In the Biblical reviews see *R.B.*, October, 1910, apropos of recent attacks on 2 *Thessalonians;* July, 1907, on the eschatological question; *Expository Times*, May, 1917, and May, 1921, on 2 Thess. ii. 6-8.

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

A. Title and Contents.
B. Authenticity of these Epistles.
   (*a*) The Historical Details and the *Acts of the Apostles*.
   (*b*) The Vocabulary of the Pastorals.
   (*c*) The Heresies referred to.
   (*d*) The Position of the Hierarchy.
   (*e*) The Declarations of the Biblical Commission on the *Pastoral Epistles*.
C. The Canonicity of the Pastorals.
D. Certain Peculiar Features of these Epistles.
E. The History of St. Paul from the Close of the *Acts of the Apostles*.
F. The Theology of the Pastoral Epistles.
G. Bibliography.
H. 1–2 Timothy.
J. Titus.

A. Title and Contents.

This title is generally given to the two Epistles to Timothy and the one to Titus. The title is an apt one, for these letters deal with the shepherd and his sheep, and are really letters of advice to two young Bishops. St. Paul himself describes them when he says: *These things I write to thee, hoping that I shall come to thee shortly. But so that, if I tarry long, thou mayest know how thou ought to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the Lining God, the pillar and ground of truth* (1 Tim. iii. 15). Two main points stand out: the deposit of faith and the Bishop's task in pre-

serving it by teaching and by securing a succession of pastors as its custodians. Hence the Apostle insists on (*a*) the personal life of the Bishop: he must be a man of faith;[1] he must cherish a good conscience;[2] he must be chaste;[3] he must be devoted to study and prayer;[4] he must be an impartial judge;[5] he must be broad-minded, *i.e.* no faddist;[6] he must be "not of this world";[7] and an example to all;[8] in a word, he must be the "man of God."[9] (*b*) The Bishop will have to combat certain heretical tendencies which will infallibly lead to corrupt morals.[10] Hence he must exercise care in ordaining;[11] he must therefore demand certain conditions of Bishops,[12] of priests,[13] of deacons,[14] and of widows.[15] (*c*) Lastly, certain principles are laid down for his guidance: his central thought must be Jesus Christ[16] Who has risen from the dead,[17] Who is the Saviour;[18] in Him must we live.[19] The entire deposit of faith, too, must be kept;[20] a Bishop's teaching must therefore be based on Holy Scripture;[21] his reliance must be upon the Church;[22] he is in it,[23] but has to rule it;[24] men must be taught habits of prayer;[25] Timothy himself, and all Bishops, must be essentially teachers;[26] and this "sound doctrine" must be shown forth and consecrated by "good works,[27] a point which is perpetually inculcated by the recurrent terms εὐσέβης, εὐσέβεια, and θεοσέβεια, *cf. infra.* That sound faith means sound morals and that these latter find their expression in outward good work is one of the domi-

[1] 1 Tim. i. 19, iii. 9, vi. 11-14, 2 Tim. i. 5, ii. 22.
[2] 1 Tim. i. 19. [3] 1 Tim. iv. 12, v. 22, 2 Tim. ii. 22.
[4] 1 Tim. iv. 12-16. [5] 1 Tim. v. 21. [6] 1 Tim. v. 23.
[7] 2 Tim. ii. 4. [8] Titus iii. 7. [9] 1 Tim. vi. 11, 2 Tim. iii. 17.
[10] 1 Tim. i. 4-10, 19-20, iv. 1-5, 7, v. 13, vi. 2-5, 9-10, 2 Tim. ii. 16-18, 23, iii. 1-9, iv. 2-3, Titus i. 10-12, 14, iii. 9-11, etc.
[11] 1 Tim. iii. 1-13, iv. 14, v. 22, 2 Tim. i. 6, Titus i. 5.
[12] 1 Tim. iii. 1-7, Titus i. 5-9. [13] 1 Tim. v. 17-20.
[14] 1 Tim. iii. 8-13. [15] 1 Tim. iii. 11, v. 3-16, Titus ii. 3-6.
[16] 2 Tim. iii. 1, 3, 7. [17] 2 Tim. ii. 8.
[18] 2 Tim. ii. 10-13, Titus i. 3, 4, ii. 10, 11, 13, iii. 4, 6.
[19] 1 Tim. iii. 12, iv. 18, 22.
[20] 1 Tim. iv. 6, 13-16, vi. 20, 2 Tim. iii. 10, 14.
[21] 2 Tim. iii. 15-17. [22] 2 Tim. ii. 19. [23] 1 Tim. iii. 15.
[24] 1 Tim. iii. 5. [25] 1 Tim. ii. 1-8.
[26] 1 Tim. i. 3, iii. 2, iv. 6, 11, vi. 2, 2 Tim. ii. 15, 24, iv. 2-3, Titus i. 9, ii. 1, 7-8.
[27] 2 Tim. ii. 21, Titus i. 16, ii. 7, iii. 1, 8, 14.

nant notes of these Epistles; *cf. infra* for the nature of the heresies which were coming into vogue at the time.

B. The Authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles.

All three Epistles claim to be written by St. Paul; see the opening words of each. He writes as the "Doctor Gentium,"[1] and these letters are certainly redolent of the Apostle of the Gentiles. At the same time it must be confessed that there exist certain difficulties in the way of accepting their Pauline authorship which it would be foolish to disregard. In the first place, these Epistles suppose a number of facts in the life of the Apostle which cannot be fitted into the story of his life as presented in *Acts*. Secondly, the vocabulary of these Epistles is markedly different from that of the rest of the Pauline Epistles; familiar Pauline terms are wanting, and a very large proportion of terms appears which find no place in those Epistles. Further, the heresies referred to seem, so it is urged, to belong to a later period of ecclesiastical history than the middle of the first century A.D. Lastly, the organization of the Church, as presented in these Epistles, seems to correspond rather with the period of St. Ignatius of Antioch, A.D. 100-116, than with the middle of the first century. Hence it has been urged that in these Epistles we have a problem somewhat similar to that afforded by the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *viz.* that they present Pauline ideas in Pauline language and in his name, but at a date considerably later than St. Paul. Thus we are told that

"Like the authors of Matthew's Gospel, Barnabas, Hebrews, the Fourth Gospel, and 2 Peter, the author of the Pastorals belongs to the great anonymous period of early Christian literature. . . . His work, too, was pseudonymous. . . . Hence the oblivion in which the writer chose to work and has been allowed to remain. . . . If the author of the Pastorals is inferior to the genius who wrote the Fourth Gospel, even in appreciating the more inward aspects of Pauline thought, he is superior in range and penetration to those who wrote Barnabas, Jude, the Ignatian epistles, the Christian section of *Ascensio Isaiæ*, and 2 Peter."[2]

The above may serve as a sample of the extreme views current in certain quarters. The arguments which are

[1] 1 Tim. ii. 7, 2 Tim. i. 11.
[2] Moffatt in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, *s.v. Timothy*.

supposed to justify such statements are reducible to those just set forth ; an examination of them will prove instructive.

(*a*) **The historical details of the Pastorals** cannot be fitted into the scheme of Pauline history presented in *Acts*. This may be conceded at once. *Acts* gives us but two imprisonments of the Apostle, one at Cæsarea, the other in Rome, and the volume closes with the declaration that St. Paul *remained two whole years in his own hired prison.* No account is given us of his trial ; the narrative simply breaks off. But the Epistles written during that captivity do not imply that St. Paul thought that his life had come to a close ; rather the contrary. He is full of plans for the future, and is convinced that he shall once more work in the East.[1] When, then, we find in the *Pastorals*, 1 Tim. i. 3, that Paul left Timothy at Ephesus when he himself was on his way to Macedonia, and when we note that this does not accord with the facts concerning either of his sojourns in Ephesus as given in Acts xviii and xx, we are forced to believe that for our knowledge of the Apostle's life we are not confined to *Acts*. Thus that *Acts* does not accord with 1 Tim. i. 3 is clear, for on St. Paul's first departure from Ephesus he was on his way to Cæsarea, not to Macedonia, Acts xviii. 22 ; on his second departure he took Timothy with him, and did not leave him there, xix. 22, xx. 4. The same must be said of the visit to Crete, Titus i. 5. Neither of these journeys—and they were distinctly apostolic ones, unlike the journey into Arabia—are mentioned by St. Luke ; nor, again, is there any mention of the journey involved in the wintering at Nicopolis, Titus iii. 12. Even if we could suppose that Luke omitted them as of little consequence, it would be exceedingly difficult to find space for them in the chronological indications given by St. Luke.

(*b*) **The Vocabulary of the Pastoral Epistles.** — It is certainly true that at first sight the student of these Epistles is apt to think that he is reading letters from another hand than that which penned the Pauline Epistles. He finds himself confronted with a host of words and expressions which are new, and he is tempted to conclude that the author of *Romans*, for instance, cannot be the same with the author of these *Pastoral Epistles*. Thus, in addition to a number of

[1] Phil. i. 25, ii. 24, Philem. 22.

words which occur only once in the Pastoral Epistles and nowhere else in N.T., we have such words as

'Αστοχέω,[1] ἀνυπότακτος,[2] ἀνεπίληπτος,[3] βέβηλος,[4] διδακτικός,[5] διάβολος[6] in its literal sense of "slanderer," διαβεβαιόμαι,[7] ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν,[8] εὐσέβεια,[9] κακοπαθεῖν and συγκακοπαθεῖν,[10] κενοφωνία,[11] κόσμιος,[12] ματαιολογία,[13] νηφάλιος,[14] νομίμως[15] and σεμνότης.[16]

But it is evident that many of these terms—and their number could easily be increased—are due to the subject-matter of these Epistles which deal with the pastoral life, with teaching, with the moral virtues, with domestic personal questions, in a fashion quite alien to the more dogmatic Epistles. Moreover, of the large number of words which are characteristic of the *Pastorals* a very large proportion are indubitably Pauline, or Lukan as well as Pauline. Thus, as examples of *Pauline* words, note

"Ασπονδος,[17] ἀνακαίνωσις,[18] ἀποτόμως,[19] ἀπόλαυσις,[20] γνήσιος,[21] ἐπιφάνεια,[22] ἐπιταγή,[23] ἐκτρέπομαι ;[24] and note the peculiarly Pauline καταργεῖν,[25] προκοπή,[26] σεμνός,[27] σωρεύω.[28]

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[1] 1 Tim. i. 6, vi. 21, 2 Tim. ii. 18.
[2] 1 Tim. i. 9, Titus i. 6, 10, Heb. ii. 8.
[3] 1 Tim. iii. 2, v. 7, vi. 14.
[4] 1 Tim. i. 9, iv. 7, vi. 20, 2 Tim. ii. 16, Heb. xii. 16.
[5] 1 Tim. iii. 2, 2 Tim. ii. 24.
[6] 1 Tim. iii. 11, 2 Tim. iii. 2, Titus ii. 3.
[7] 1 Tim. i. 7, Titus iii. 8.
[8] 1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 3.
[9] 1 Tim. ii. 2, iii. 16, iv. 7, 8, vi. 3, 5, 6, 11, 2 Tim. iii. 5, Titus i. 1, and four times in 2 *Peter*, as also in Acts iii. 12.
[10] 2 Tim. i. 18, ii. 3, 9, iv. 5, *cp.* Jas. v. 10, 13.
[11] 1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. ii. 16.
[12] 1 Tim. ii. 9, iii. 2.
[13] 1 Tim. i. 6, 10.
[14] 1 Tim. iii. 2, 11, Titus ii. 2.
[15] 1 Tim. i. 8, 2 Tim. ii. 5.
[16] 1 Tim. ii. 2, iii. 4, Titus ii. 7.
[17] 2 Tim. iii. 3, Rom. i. 31.
[18] Titus iii. 5, Rom. xii. 2, *cp.* 2 Cor. iv. 16, Col. iii. 10.
[19] Titus i. 13, 2 Cor. xiii. 10, *cp.* Rom. xi. 12.
[20] 1 Tim. vi. 17, Heb. xi. 25.
[21] 1 Tim. i. 2, Titus i. 4, 2 Cor. viii. 8, Phil. ii. 20, iv. 3.
[22] 1 Tim. vi. 14, 2 Tim. i. 10, iv. 1, 8, Titus ii. 13, 2 Thess. ii. 8, *cp.* Acts ii. 20.
[23] 1 Tim. i. 1, Titus i. 3, ii. 15, Rom. xvi. 26, 1 Cor. vii. 6, 25, 2 Cor. viii. 8.
[24] 1 Tim. i. 6, v. 15, vi. 20, 2 Tim. iv. 4, Heb. xii. 13.
[25] 2 Tim. i. 10.
[26] 1 Tim. iv. 15, Phil. i. 12, 25.
[27] 1 Tim. iii. 8, Titus ii. 2, Phil. iv. 8.
[28] 2 Tim. iii. 6, Rom. xii. 20.

As examples of *Lukan* words we have, amongst others, *ἀνόητος*,[1] *βυθίζω*,[2] *ζωγρέω*,[3] *ἐνδυνάμοω*,[4] *νοσφιζόμαι*,[5] *παραγγελία*,[6] *πρόθεσις*[7] of the divine decrees, *παραιτεόμαι*,[8] *προπετής*,[9] *πειθάρχω*,[10] *παραχειμάζω*,[11] *περίεργος*.[12]

Unfortunately, the terms which are most characteristic of these Epistles are obscured in translation; the Vulgate Latin is particularly faulty in this respect, presumably because the Latin text here was not even revised by St. Jerome. Thus, to give but a few examples, *ἐπιφάνεια* is rendered by *illuminatio*, by *adventus*, by *illustratio*;[13] *devita* is used to translate no less than five different Greek words;[14] while the very precise terms for chaste, chastity, pure, purity, sober, and sobriety are given in Latin with an impartial lack of discrimination. St. Jerome's efforts to render these with precision will be found in his *Commentary on the Epistle to Titus*.

(*c*) The question of the heresies referred to is a difficult one. Timothy is warned against a *knowledge falsely so called*,[15] and it has been too hastily assumed that the heresies referred to in these Epistles are to be identified with the Gnostic heresies analyzed for us by St. Irenæus towards the close of the second century. But while the Gnostics formed a special class of heretics who claimed for themselves a peculiar *γνῶσις* or knowledge, it still remains true that all heresies are based on false knowledge; it takes a learned man to make a heresiarch, as St. Jerome remarks,[16] and heresy, by its very etymology, signifies "choice," and therefore study and, by implication, "knowledge." Moreover, an examination of the *Pastorals* does not endorse the view that the heresies there referred to were specifically "Gnostic." Their Judaic character is clearly indicated

[1] 1 Tim. vi. 9, Titus iii. 3, Luke xxiv. 25, Rom. i. 14, Gal. iii. 1, 3.
[2] 1 Tim. vi. 9, Luke v. 7. [3] 2 Tim. ii. 26, Luke v. 10.
[4] 1 Tim. i. 12, 2 Tim. ii. 1, Acts ix. 22, Rom. iv. 20, Eph. vi. 10, Phil. iv. 13, Heb. xi. 34.
[5] Titus ii. 10, Acts v. 2, 3.
[6] 1 Tim. i. 5, 18, Acts v. 28, xvi. 14, 1 Thess. iv. 2.
[7] 2 Tim. i. 9, iii. 10, Rom. viii. 28, ix. 11, Eph. i. 11, iii. 11.
[8] 1 Tim. iv. 7, v. 11, 2 Tim. ii. 33, Titus iii. 10, Luke xiv. 18, Acts xxv. 11, Heb. xii. 19, 25.
[9] 2 Tim. iii. 4, Acts xix. 36.
[10] Titus iii. 1, Acts v. 29, 32, xxvii. 21.
[11] Titus iii. 12, Acts xxvii. 12 (also the noun, Acts xxviii. 11), 1 Cor. xvi. 6.
[12] 1 Tim. v. 13, Acts xix. 19.
[13] 2 Tim. i. 10, iv. 1, 8, 1 Tim. vi. 14, 2 Thess. ii. 8.
[14] 1 Tim. iv. 7, v. 11, vi. 20, 2 Tim. ii. 16, 23, iii. 5, iv. 15.
[15] 1 Tim. vi. 20. [16] On Osee x. 1, *P.L.* XXV. 902.

more than once; the "fables and genealogies without end" are spoken of as the work of men "desirous to be teachers of the Law,"[1] who are further specified as "especially they of the circumcision";[2] their "fables" are "Jewish,"[3] and their "strivings are about the Law."[4] Moreover, these "Jewish fables" are apparently identified with a species of Manichæanism,[5] and these, the Apostle declares, were long before foretold by the Spirit.[6] Another tendency which the author condemns has a distinctively "modern" ring about it, for "some have erred, saying that the resurrection is already past,"[7] as though they interpreted the resurrection in some spiritual fashion. These doctrines are stigmatized by St. Paul—and with astonishing insistence—as "vain babblings,"[8] and it is natural to associate them with that "loftiness of words" and "philosophy and vain deceit" which he condemns so strongly when writing to the Colossians.[9] Still, this will not help us much in determining what these "vain babblings" and "endless genealogies" were. They were, however, Jewish, though those who indulged in them held them to be compatible with Christian teaching,[10] they are clearly not the tenets which characterized those Judaizers against whom the Apostle had had to wage war in the earlier years of his missionary life. Moreover, there was, as we have seen, a tendency towards Manichæanism among the upholders of these views. It is not impossible, then, that we have to deal with a species of Christian Essenism, such as that described by Philo as existing at Alexandria, and understood by Eusebius as a reference to early Christian monasticism.[11]

(*d*) Lastly, it is urged that the hierarchy as depicted in the Pastorals is in advance of St. Paul's time. These Epistles exhibit (i) a *Bishop* whose duty it is to admonish,[12]

[1] 1 Tim. i. 4, 7.
[2] Titus i. 10.
[3] Titus i. 14.
[4] Titus iii. 9.
[5] Titus i. 14-15.
[6] 1 Tim. iv. 1-4.
[7] 2 Tim. ii. 18.
[8] *Cf.* 1 Tim. i. 6, iv. 7, vi. 4, 2 Tim. ii. 16, 23, iv. 4, Titus i. 10, 14, iii. 9.
[9] Col. ii. 4, 8, 16, 18, 23.
[10] Titus i. 16.
[11] *H.E.* II. xvii., especially sections 10, 16, 17.
[12] 1 Tim. i. 3, v. 7, vi. 17.

who is responsible for the preservation of sound faith,[1] who is to be essentially a teacher,[2] who is to rule in the Church,[3] to rule, too, over priests,[4] who is to ordain[5] and to consecrate;[6] at the same time Timothy himself is spoken of as ordained by the priesthood,[7] and also by St. Paul himself.[8] (ii) *Priests* who also are teachers and rulers,[9] who are ordained,[10] and are themselves ordainers;[11] and who, finally, are to be treated with peculiar respect, *i.e.* a charge against them is not to be lightly received.[12] (iii) *Deacons* who are to minister faithfully, etc.[13]

It will be as well at this stage to examine the information regarding the hierarchy which is to be found in writers of the second century.

St. Irenæus clearly knows of a monarchical Episcopacy; he gives us the list of those who have succeeded the Apostles in the See of Rome, and he does so in order to show how easy it is to discover what the Church's tradition is.[14] But it is to be noted that, while he gives us for this purpose the list of *bishops* in detail, he yet speaks of this tradition as being that of the Apostles, and preserved in the Churches through the succession of *priests*.[15] And more clearly still: "Wherefore we must obey those who are *priests* in the Church, who derive their succession from the Apostles as we have shown, and who, together with succession in the *Episcopate*, have received the sure gift of the truth."[16] It is clear from these two passages that, even for St. Irenæus, the Episcopate and the priesthood were in some sense identified. At the same time it is remarkable to find Irenæus paraphrasing Acts xx. 17 as follows: "Having summoned to Miletus the *bishops and priests* who were from Ephesus and the other neighbouring cities."[17] The text of Acts has only "priests" in ver. 17, and the same are, apparently, those who in ver. 28 are addressed as "bishops." We come next to St. Polycarp (d. 155). He is well acquainted with the *Pastoral Epistles*,[18] yet he nowhere mentions bishops as distinct

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[1] 1 Tim. i. 18-19, iv. 6, 16, vi. 11-14, 20, 2 Tim. i. 13-14, ii. 2, iii. 14, Titus ii. 1, 7.
[2] 1 Tim. iii. 2, iv. 11, vi. 2, 2 Tim. iv. 2, 5, Titus i. 9.
[3] 1 Tim. v. 1, Titus i. 5, ii. 15, iii. 1.
[4] 1 Tim. v. 17 19.
[5] 1 Tim. v. 22, Titus i. 5.
[6] Titus i. 7.
[7] 1 Tim. iv. 14.
[8] 2 Tim. i. 16.
[9] 1 Tim. v. 17.
[10] Titus i. 5.
[11] 1 Tim. iv. 14.
[12] 1 Tim. v. 19.
[13] 1 Tim. iii. 8-13,
[14] *Adv. Hær.* III. iii-iv; *P.G.* VII. 848-850.
[15] *Ibid.* III. xxi. 2, 847.
[16] *Ibid.* IV. xxvi. 2, 1053.
[17] *Ibid.* III. xiv. 2, 914.
[18] *Ad Philipp.* iv, v, where 2 Tim. ii. 12 is quoted, and xiii.

from priests. "We must be subject," he says, "to the priests and deacons as to God and to Christ";[1] and when speaking of the duties of Christians he places them in two classes—priests and those who are not priests.[2] Next in order we come to St. Ignatius of Antioch (d. 107 or 116): We are to reverence the bishops, priests, and deacons;[3] we are to be subject to the bishop and the Presbytery;[4] we are to do nothing without the bishop and the Presbytery.[5] All through St. Ignatius' letters the distinction between the bishops and the priests is precise. Moreover, the bishop is a monarch in his See; he is spoken of in the singular; the Presbytery, or priestly body, is subject to him. A decade earlier we have St. Clement of Rome and his *Epistle to the Corinthian Church*. Here we find almost precisely the same features as in the case of St. Irenæus: the Apostles are said to have appointed bishops and deacons,[6] and, owing to their foreseeing that disputes about the Episcopate would arise, they ordained that as bishops died others should succeed them in their ministry.[7] So far there is no mention of priests; we simply have "bishops and deacons," as in Phil. i. 1. But when Clement comes to the main theme of his letter, *viz.* the factious removal of a bishop from his office by some who were disaffected, he writes just as Irenæus would have done: "Our crime will be no small one if we cast out of the *Episcopal* office men who have without reproach and in holiness offered the gifts! Blessed those *priests* who have already run their course . . . for they can have no fear lest someone remove them from their appointed place."[8] A little later on he speaks of this same removal of the bishop as "stirring up sedition against the *priests*";[9] similarly he pictures a generous man as saying: "Only let Christ's flock dwell in peace with the appointed priests!"[10]

It is clear from these many passages that whereas all priests were not bishops, yet all bishops were priests.[11] The bishop is a priest; a crime against him is consequently a crime against the priesthood or Presbytery.

Now this usage finds its exact counterpart in the *Pastoral Epistles* and in *Acts*. Thus the Apostle writes: "I left thee in Crete that thou mightest ordain *priests* in every city . . . if any be without crime . . . for a *bishop* must be without crime."[12] This does not necessarily mean that all priests were *ipso facto* bishops, but that many priests might become

[1] *Ibid.* v.
[2] *Ibid.* vi.
[3] *Trall.* iii, *Phil.* iv., *Smyrn.* viii.
[4] *Eph.* ii, *Magnes.* ii.
[5] *Magnes.* vii, *Trall.* ii and xiii.
[6] 1 *Cor.* xlii.
[7] *Ibid.* xliv.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.* xlvii.
[10] *Ibid.* liv, *cp.* lvii.
[11] See *Westminster Commentary* on Titus i. 14-16, p. 101: "All 'episcopi' were presbyters, only a limited number of presbyters were 'episcopi.'" See, too, a good study, *Bishops and Presbyters in the Epistle of Clement of Rome*, J. H. Bernard; *Studia Sacra*, chap. xii, Hodder and Stoughton, 1917.
[12] Titus i. 5-7.

so. Dioceses were not then precisely distinguished as in later days, neither were the functions of bishops so carefully marked off from those of priests. Similarly in *Acts*[1] St. Paul summons to Miletus the "priests of the Church of Ephesus," and, apparently, addresses the same persons as "bishops" who have to "take heed to the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost has placed them as bishops to rule the Church of God." Quite apart from the fact that the Apostle may by a gesture have singled out some who were actually bishops as distinct from priests, the only conclusion which can justly be drawn from these passages is that all were "elders," and that some of these were bishops and some were "elders" or "priests" or "presbyters" without the superadded episcopal character. The point, however, which especially concerns us here is that if we are to reject the Pauline authorship of the *Pastorals* on the ground that they present us with a monarchical episcopacy such as is so marked a feature of St. Ignatius' Epistles, we should have on the same grounds to reject the Ignatian Epistles, because they present a monarchical episcopacy which apparently finds no place either in the writings of his predecessor, St. Clement, nor in those of St. Polycarp and St. Irenæus. Moreover, if Acts xx. 17, 28, and Titus i. 5-7 are taken to imply the identity of priests and bishops, we shall have to explain how these passages are to be reconciled with the monarchical tone of the rest of the *Pastorals*. Or, again, if the monarchical tone of the *Pastorals* is in conflict with the rest of the Epistles, *e.g.* Phil. i. 1, how comes it that the above-mentioned passages are in precise accordance not only with Phil. i. 1, but also with Clement, Polycarp, and Irenæus?

(*e*) **To the following questions the Pontifical Biblical Commission has thought fit to reply as follows:**

I. Having before our eyes the Church's tradition, which has been universal and persistent from the outset, as ancient ecclesiastical records show in divers fashions, ought it to be held certain that the so-called *Pastoral Epistles* —namely, the two addressed to Timothy and the one to Titus—were, despite the audacity of certain heretics who, merely because these Epistles stood in the way of their own

[1] Acts xx. 17, 28.

doctrines, removed them without further explanation from the list of Pauline Epistles, actually written by St. Paul himself, and were ever reckoned as genuine and canonical?

Reply: In the affirmative.

II. A so-called "fragmentary hypothesis" has been proposed and set forth in various ways by recent critics who, on no solid grounds, and often in opposition to one another, maintain that these *Pastoral Epistles* were formed at a later time from fragments of Epistles—whether St. Paul's or not—which were strung together and much added to by unknown authors. Has this hypothesis in any degree weakened the traditional view which rests on such strong and clear testimony?

Reply: In the negative.

III. Have the difficulties which are so often urged—whether from the style and language of the author, or particularly from the errors of the Gnostics whom he describes as then flourishing, or from the state of the ecclesiastical hierarchy which he supposes already evolved—have these and similar arguments which are wont to be urged weakened in any sense the view which regards the authenticity of these *Pastoral Epistles* as certain?

Reply: In the negative.

IV. Can we, as well on historical grounds as by reason of ecclesiastical traditions common alike to the Fathers of the East and the West, as also from indications furnished by the abrupt conclusion of the *Acts*, by the Epistles St. Paul wrote at Rome, and especially by the *Second Epistle to Timothy*—indications which compel us to accept the view that St. Paul was twice a prisoner at Rome—safely affirm that these *Pastoral Epistles* were written during the interval between his liberation from the first of those captivities and his death?

Reply: In the affirmative.

On June 12, 1913, in an audience graciously granted to the undersigned Consultor, our Most Holy Lord, Pope Pius X., confirmed the foregoing replies and ordered their publication.

Laurentius Janssens, O.S.B.

C. The Canonicity and Authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles.

The Fathers are, as a rule, content to tell us that such and such heretics rejected certain portions of the New Testament, but they rarely tell us the reasons which led them to this course. Thus St. Jerome tells us that the Marcionites and Basilides rejected 1-2 *Timothy* and *Hebrews*, also that Tatian rejected some Epistles, but not *Titus*.[1] St. Epiphanius says that the Marcionites ended by mutilating even the brief *Epistle to Philemon*,[2] though in Tertullian's time "its brevity alone saved this Epistle from Marcion's falsifying hands!"[3] The followers of Marcion undoubtedly repudiated these Epistles because they were saturated with the Old Testament which they rejected, though why they were able to accept the rest of the Epistles on this score is not clear. Origen suggests that the reference to Jannes and Mambres, 2 Tim. iii. 8, was, in some instances, the motive for rejection of the *Pastorals*:

"This is not to be found," he says, "in the public Scriptures, but in a secret (apocryphal) book known as *The Book of Jannes and Mambres*. Whence it is that some have ventured to reject the *Epistle to Timothy* on the ground that it contains passages from an apocryphal work; but they have not had their way. Neither has it come to my ears that anyone has on the same grounds rejected as spurious the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*."[4]

There are more than a dozen allusions to the *Pastorals* in St. Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians*, and some of them are indubitable quotations, as will be clear from Lightfoot's edition.[5]

That Clement of Alexandria was well acquainted with the *Pastoral Epistles* is abundantly clear:

Thus *cp.* 1 Clem. ii. and Titus iii. 1, a clear quotation; xxi. and 1 Tim. v. 21; xxix. and 1 Tim. ii. 8; xxxvii. and 2 Tim. ii. 3-4; xlii. and

[1] *Prol.* to *Comment. on Titus*, *P.L.* XXVI. 555.
[2] *Hær.* XLI. 9. [3] *Adv. Marcionem*, V. 21, *P.L.* II. 524.
[4] *Series in Matt.* 117, *P.G.* XIII. 1769; elsewhere, *Contra Celsum*, IV. 51, Origen refers to this same *History of Jannes and Mambres*, and says it was even used by Numenius, the Pythagorean, in his allegorical treatment of Scripture when commenting on the works of Plato, *P.G.* XI. 1111.
[5] *The Apostolic Fathers*, III, pp. 320-350.

2 Tim. iii. 14; xliii. and Titus i. 3; xliv. and 2 Tim. iv. 6; lviii. and Titus ii. 14. It is worth while noting, too, Clement's use of τάξις and its derivatives when speaking of ecclesiastical "order," *e.g.* τάξει, τεταγμένους, ἀτάκτως, προστέτακται, xl.; τάγματι, xl.; εὐτάκτως, xlii.; and *cp.* the use of ὑποτάσσω and ἀνυποτάκτος in 1 Tim. i. 9, Titus i. 6, 10, ii. 5, 9, iii. 1.

D. Certain Peculiar Features of these Epistles.

One peculiar feature of these Epistles is the presence of a certain refrain, "A faithful saying," which seems at times to introduce, at times to close, some axiomatic declaration of Christian principles which was current in Christian circles. Thus the statement about the "profitableness of godliness" in 1 Tim. iv. 9 is followed by the words, "A faithful saying"; it precedes that about the excellence of the Episcopate, 1 Tim. iii. 1; also that concerning Christ's having come to save sinners, 1 Tim. i. 15. In 2 Tim. ii. 11 it is hard to say whether it refers to what precedes or to what follows, though the latter seems more probable, "A faithful saying: 'If we be dead with Him, we shall live also with Him'"; in Titus iii. 8 the doctrine of the necessity of good works is introduced by the same expression.[1] With this species of refrain we may couple the apparent reminiscences of hymns in use in the early Christian Church, *e.g.* 1 Tim. iii. 16 and 2 Tim. ii. 11-13. That such hymns, embodying doctrinal teaching, were customary is clear from Eph. v. 19, and perhaps we have something of the same sort in the fragments of a Creed with which St. Paul opens his statement of Christian doctrine regarding the resurrection, 1 Cor. xv. These hymn-fragments are especially interesting in view of the statements made by Pliny the younger, by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and Eusebius about the hymns in use among the early Christians.[2]

[1] See Swete, *J.T.S.*, October, 1916.

[2] Thus Pliny writes to Trajan, *Ep.* 96, which was sent from Bithynia about the year A.D. 110, that the Christians say "that they had been accustomed to come together on a fixed day before daylight and sing responsively a hymn to Christ as God"; this is given also by Eusebius, *H.E.* III. xxxiii. 1, who speaks, moreover, of "the many psalms and hymns composed by the faithful from the beginning, and in which they celebrate Christ as the Word of God and speak of Him as divine," *H.E.* V. xxviii. 5; *cf.* Tertullian, *ad Uxorem*, ii. 8, and also Origen,

E. The History of St. Paul from the Close of Acts till his Death.

The book of *Acts* closes with the bald statement that the Apostle *spent two whole years in his own hired prison.* We are not told of any trial, nor indeed that he was released. The Epistles written during this imprisonment show us that Paul was convinced that he would be released and would revisit the East.[1] That he contemplated a visit to Rome and to Spain at the time of writing to the Romans is clear;[2] he had already evangelized the coast districts as far as Illyricum.[3] Those plans were disturbed by his arrest at Jerusalem, with the subsequent imprisonment for two years at Cæsarea. But the tradition that he did actually visit Spain is exceedingly strong,[4] as also is the tradition that he died at Rome.[5] Unfortunately there is but little agreement among commentators as to the year of St. Paul's death, some holding that it took place in A.D. 64, others in 67,

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Contra Celsum, VIII. 67, *P.G.* XI. 1618, where we find precisely the same statement: "We sing hymns only to the Supreme God and His Only-begotten Son, the Word of God"; *cf.*, too, Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* VII. 7, *P.G.* IX. 451.

[1] Phil. ii. 24, Philem. 22. For the probable course of procedure in these "trials," see *Expositor*, March, 1913.

[2] Rom. xv. 24.

[3] Rom. xv. 19.

[4] That St. Paul actually went to Spain is stated by Clement, 1 *Cor.* v. For it is impossible to put any other interpretation on the words of one writing from Rome: "He was a herald in East and West . . . he taught righteousness to the whole world, he came also to *the bounds of the West*"; no one living in Rome could speak of Italy as "the bounds of the West." The same testimony occurs in the *Muratorian Fragment:* Luke, the author says, does not give Peter's passion nor Paul's journey from Rome to Spain, *profectione Pauli ab urbes ad Spania proficiscentis.* St. Jerome, *in Amos* v. 9, *P.L.* XXVI. 1043, in a rhetorical passage, takes this journey for granted, and it must be admitted that there is absolutely nothing to be said against it. Even Harnack, who rejects the *Pastorals*, and who assigns St. Paul's death to the year A.D. 64, feels constrained to set back the date of his release from the Roman captivity to A.D. 59 so as to find space for this journey. It must be admitted, however, that both St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* XVII. 26, *P.G.* XXXIII. 998, and St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* XXX. *in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* LX. 652, explain Rom. xv. 25 as referring to "his keen desire to go thither"; see above, pp. 43-44.

[5] See *s.v. N.T. Chronology* and *Introduction to the Epistles of St. Peter.*

others in 68.[1] But on the supposition that A.D. 67 is the more probable date, and that the first Roman imprisonment, that mentioned in Acts xxviii, ended in 60, we should have six full years for the visit to Spain, for the missionary work in the East to which the *Pastoral Epistles* testify, and for his fresh arrest and his second captivity at Rome, which ended with his death. The details furnished by the *Pastoral Epistles* are meagre. The Apostle appears to have been at Ephesus;[2] he may have passed thence to Crete.[3] When writing to Timothy, he confidently expects to be with him shortly, presumably at Ephesus,[4] but we have no hint as to the place whence he sent this first letter. He is certainly free; there is no hint as to imprisonment. The same holds good of the *Epistle to Titus;* the Apostle intends going to Nicopolis for the winter, and may perhaps have written from some Macedonian town on his journey thither, iii. 12. The atmosphere of the *Second Epistle to Timothy* is quite different from the two preceding Epistles. The Apostle is in prison[5] at Rome;[6] he has met with persecution in Asia,[7] and this may imply that he was arrested when travelling there, though we have no hint whatever as to the circumstances which led to this arrest. He is alone, indeed deserted, save for the visit of Onesiphorus who may have been a native of Ephesus.[8] Demas has gone back to the world, Crescens to Galatia or—as some MSS. read—to Gaul, Titus is in Dalmatia, Erastus had remained at Corinth—a hint this as to the direction the Apostle's voyage to Rome took, Trophimus had fallen sick at Miletus, Alexander the coppersmith has turned out badly, Prisca and Aquila are with Timothy—presumably at Ephesus; only Luke is with him.[9] But despite the depression which pervades the letter, Paul is full of plans as usual,[10] and he hopes that Timothy will come to him and bring Mark with him. But he knows that the end is at hand; the first portion of his trial has taken place, and though he has been

[1] See *s.v. N.T. Chronology.*
[2] 1 Tim. i. 3, *cp.* Phil. ii. 24, Philem. 22.
[3] Titus i. 5.
[4] 1 Tim. iii. 14, iv. 13, *cp.* i. 3.
[5] 2 Tim. i. 16-17, ii. 9-12, iii. 12.
[6] *Ibid.* i. 17.
[7] *Ibid.* i. 15.
[8] *Ibid.* i. 15-18, iv. 19.
[9] *Ibid.* iv. 14-20.
[10] *Ibid.* iv. 17, 21.

delivered in a sense,[1] yet he is now looking forward with confidence to the reward of his labours.[2] It is instructive to compare the last-mentioned verses with Phil. i. 20-26; the conviction of speedy deliverance there expressed and of fruitful work in the future contrasts with the sense of speedy release from this world's trammels in the last extant Epistle penned by the Apostle.

We can refer 2 *Timothy* to the last year, if not to the last months, of St. Paul's life, but we have no hint whatever as to the length of time which elapsed between the two other Epistles and this last. All we can be sure of is that all three belong to the period subsequent to his release from his first imprisonment at Rome.

F. The Theology of the Pastoral Epistles.

God and the Father: is One, 1 Tim. ii. 5; is the only God, 1 Tim. i. 17; the King of ages, 1 Tim. i. 17; immortal, 1 Tim. i. 17, vi. 16; invisible, 1 Tim. i. 17; the living God, 1 Tim. iii. 15, iv. 10, vi. 17; is blessed, 1 Tim. i. 11, vi. 15; the only mighty, the King of kings, the Lord of lords, 1 Tim. vi. 15; He inhabiteth light inaccessible, none hath seen Him, 1 Tim. vi. 16; He is great, Titus ii. 13; His glory will appear at Christ's coming, Titus ii. 13; He is the Father, 1 Tim. i. 2, 2 Tim. i. 2, Titus i. 4; He is Lord, 1 Tim. i. 14, 2 Tim. i. 18, ii. 7, 19, 21, 22, 24; His will, 2 Tim. i. 1; His goodness, Titus iii. 4; His kindness, Titus iii. 4; He shows mercy to Paul because he had sinned in ignorance, 1 Tim. i. 13, 2 Tim. i. 18, Titus iii. 5; He has called us, 2 Tim. i. 8; His purpose, 2 Tim. i. 8; He has predestined us, 2 Tim. i. 8; He knoweth who are His, 2 Tim. ii. 19; His kingdom, 2 Tim. iv. 18; His elect, Titus i. 1; He lies not, Titus i. 2; His promise, Titus i. 2; has manifested His word, Titus i. 3; He is the Saviour, 1 Tim. i. 1, ii. 3, iv. 16, Titus i. 3, ii. 10, 11, iii. 4; He created all things good, 1 Tim. iv. 3-4; His word, 1 Tim. iv. 5, 2 Tim. ii. 9, Titus ii. 5; He gives abundantly, 1 Tim. vi. 17; He gives us the spirit of love, 2 Tim. i. 7; also understanding, 2 Tim. ii. 7; He gives repentance, 2 Tim. ii. 25; He delivers His Saints, 2 Tim. iii. 11, iv. 18; we must believe in Him, Titus iii. 8; trust in Him, 1 Tim. v. 5; thank Him, 2 Tim. i. 3; call on Him, 2 Tim. ii. 22; and on His name, 2 Tim. ii. 19; we must be His soldiers, 2 Tim. ii. 4; His servants, 2 Tim. ii. 24; be profitable to Him, 2 Tim. ii. 21; God stood by Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 17; and will be his reward, 2 Tim. iv. 14; Paul charges Timothy before God, 1 Tim. v. 21, vi. 13, 2 Tim. iv. 1; Scripture is inspired of God, 2 Tim. iii. 16.

The Christology: Jesus Christ, 1 Tim. i. 1, 14, 15, ii. 5, iii. 13, iv. 6, v. 21, 2 Tim. i. 1, 9, 10, 13, ii. 1, 3, iii. 12, 15, iv. 1, Titus i. 1; Jesus Christ our Lord, 1 Tim. i. 2, 12, vi. 3, 14; 2 Tim. i. 2, ii. 8, iv. 22; the

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 16-18. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 6-8.

Lord, 2 Tim. i. 8; He is the one Mediator, 1 Tim. ii. 5; is man, 1 Tim. ii. 5; was manifested in the flesh, justified by the Spirit, appeared unto Angels, was preached to the Gentiles, believed in in the world, assumed into glory, 1 Tim. iii. 16; was of the seed of David, 2 Tim. ii. 8; came to save sinners, 1 Tim. i. 15; gave Himself as our Redeemer, 1 Tim. ii. 6, Titus ii. 14; to cleanse us from sin, Titus ii. 14; our Saviour, 2 Tim. i. 10, ii. 10, Titus i. 4, ii. 13, iii. 6; He destroyed death, 2 Tim. i. 10; rose from the dead, 2 Tim. ii. 8; His second coming, 1 Tim. vi. 14, 2 Tim. iv. i. 8, Titus ii. 13; He will be judge of the living and the dead, 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8; we must believe in Him, 1 Tim. i. 16, iii. 13, 2 Tim. ii. 13, iii. 15; we owe Him faith and love, 1 Tim. i. 14, 2 Tim. i. 13; He is our hope, 1 Tim. i. 1; He will deny us if we deny Him, 2 Tim. ii. 13; if dead with Him we shall live with Him, if we suffer with Him we shall reign with Him, 2 Tim. ii. 11-12; all who live godlily in Him will suffer persecution, 2 Tim. ii. 12; in Him we are predestined, 2 Tim. i. 9; His kingdom, 2 Tim. iv. 1, 18; He is the source of immortality and light, 2 Tim. i. 10; grace is to be found in Him, 2 Tim. ii. 1; we have to be His soldiers, 2 Tim. ii. 3; we must live godlily in Him, 2 Tim. iii. 12; we receive the Holy Spirit through Him, Titus iii. 6; we must not be ashamed of His testimony, 2 Tim. i. 8; the testimony He gave before Pontius Pilate, 1 Tim. vi. 13; Paul is His Apostle, 1 Tim. i. 1, 2 Tim. i. 1, Titus i. 1; and is His minister, 1 Tim. i. 8; Timothy must be the same, 1 Tim. iv. 6; some "grow wanton" in Christ, 1 Tim. v. 11; Paul charges Timothy "before Jesus Christ," 1 Tim. v. 21, vi. 13, Titus ii. 13; Paul prays that Christ may be with Timothy's spirit, 2 Tim. i. 22.

The *Holy Spirit:* we are renovated in Him, Titus iii. 5; He is poured out on us through Christ, Titus iii. 6; He dwells in us, 2 Tim. i. 14; tradition comes to us through Him, 2 Tim. i. 14; He hath manifestly declared, 1 Tim. iv. 1.

The *Church of God:* is to be ruled by bishops, 1 Tim. iii. 5; it is the House of God, 1 Tim. iii. 5; it is His sure foundation, 2 Tim. ii. 19.

Bishops: their qualifications, 1 Tim. iii. i. 7, Titus i. 7-9.

Priests: those who rule well are to be honoured, 1 Tim. v. 17-18; an unsupported accusation against them is not to be received, 1 Tim. v. 19.

Deacons: their qualifications, 1 Tim. iii. 8-13.

Ordination: bestowed by prophecy, with imposition of hands by the Presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14, v. 22; it is not to be performed lightly, 1 Tim. v. 22; Paul had imposed hands on Timothy, 2 Tim. i. 6; Titus is to ordain priests in Crete, Titus i. 5.

Teachers and Teaching: Paul is the teacher of the Gentiles, 1 Tim. ii. 7, 2 Tim. i. 11; Timothy is to teach, 1 Tim. iv. 11; bishops must be teachers, 1 Tim. iii. 2; the servant of God must be apt to teach, 2 Tim. ii. 24; he must train teachers, 2 Tim. ii. 2; false teachers, 1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 3, Titus i. 11; some are desirous of being teachers, 1 Tim. i. 7; women are forbidden to teach in the Church, 1 Tim. ii. 12, vi. 2; they are to teach the young women well, Titus ii. 3-5.

Tradition: has been committed to Timothy, 1 Tim. i. 11, vi. 20, 2 Tim. iii. 14; he must hold it and keep it, and attain to it, 1 Tim. iv. 6, 2 Tim. i. 13-14; and embrace it, Titus i. 9; and commend it to others, 2 Tim. ii. 2; he has known all Paul's teaching, 2 Tim. iii. 10.

Doctrine: is described as "good," 1 Tim. iv. 6; as "sound," 1 Tim. i. 10, 2 Tim. iv. 3, Titus i. 9, ii. 1; as "sound words," 1 Tim. vi. 3, 2 Tim. i. 13; as the "word of truth," 2 Tim. ii. 15; as "the doctrine of the Lord," 1 Tim. vi. 1, 3; of God, Titus ii. 10; as the "faithful word," Titus i. 9; Timothy has attained to Paul's doctrine, 1 Tim. iv. 13, 2 Tim. iii. 10; he is to be earnest in it, 1 Tim. iv. 16; to exhort in it, 2 Tim. i. 9; to preach it in season and out, 2 Tim. iv. 2; priests who labour in the word and doctrine are to be honoured, 1 Tim. v. 17; Scripture is for doctrine, 2 Tim. iii. 16; Titus must adorn the doctrine of God, Titus ii. 10; men will not always endure sound doctrine, 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2 Tim. iv. 3.

Faith: "the mystery of," 1 Tim. iii. 9; our common faith, Titus i. 13, ii. 2; of the elect, Titus i. 1; the word of faith, 1 Tim. iv. 6; God's building is of faith, 1 Tim. i. 4; faith which is in Christ, 1 Tim. i. 14, iii. 13, 2 Tim. i. 13, iii. 15; need of, 1 Tim. i. 19, ii. 15, iv. 12, vi. 11, 2 Tim. ii. 23; unfeigned faith, 1 Tim. i. 5, 2 Tim. i. 5; sound in faith, Titus i. 13, ii. 2; good fight of faith, 1 Tim. vi. 12; Timothy has heard the traditions "in faith," 1 Tim. i. 13; Paul is the Doctor of the Gentiles "in faith," 1 Tim. ii. 7; he has kept the faith, 2 Tim. iv. 7; some have made shipwreck of the faith, 1 Tim. i. 19; those who are neglectful of their own household have denied the faith, 1 Tim. v. 8; apostate widows are renegades to their first faith, 1 Tim. v. 12; some have erred concerning the faith, 1 Tim. vi. 21; others have subverted the faith, 1 Tim. ii. 18; and are reprobate concerning the faith, 2 Tim. iii. 8.

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H. The Epistles to Timothy.

The First Epistle.

St. Timothy may justly be described as the greatest of the secondary characters of the New Testament story. His name occurs repeatedly in *Acts* and *Epistles*; indeed, in only two of St. Paul's Epistles is he not named, *viz. Galatians* and

Ephesians. The son of a Jewish Christian woman and a Gentile father at Lystra, he was recommended to St. Paul by the Church of Lystra and Iconium. The Apostle therefore circumcised him and made him his companion.[1] His name does not occur again in the course of this second missionary journey of the Apostle till the foundation of the Church at Berea; when St. Paul was compelled to flee from that city he left Silas and Timothy behind him with orders to follow on (to Athens) as soon as possible.[2] They rejoined him at Corinth,[3] whence Timothy was sent to the Church at Thessalonica.[4] Of this Church he furnished a good report to the Apostle,[5] and he and Silas (Silvanus) join with St. Paul in writing the two *Epistles to the Thessalonians*.[6] He was also with him when he wrote the *Epistle to the Romans*,[7] and from Ephesus was sent to Corinth,[8] though the Apostle had not heard of his arrival there when he penned the closing chapters of his first Epistle to that Church;[9] from Macedonia he joined with St. Paul in writing 2 *Corinthians*.[10] When the Apostle returned to Jerusalem at the close of his third missionary journey Timothy accompanied him.[11] He was also with him during his first captivity at Rome, for his name occurs in company with St. Paul's in the opening clauses of *Philippians*, *Colossians* and *Philemon*. He was not a fellow-prisoner with the Apostle, however, for the latter writes to the Philippians: "I hope to send Timothy unto you shortly."[12] At a later period, indeed, he actually was imprisoned, as is clear from St. Paul's statement, "Our brother Timothy is set at liberty."[13] In the interval between St. Paul's two imprisonments at Rome he appointed Timothy Bishop of Ephesus;[14] the same fact is given by Eusebius as "recorded," the implication being that Eusebius was not merely deriving his information from 1 Tim. i. 3.[14] How onerous this charge must have proved to one who was so young[15] is self-evident,

[1] Acts xvi. 1-3. [2] xvii. 14-16.
[3] xviii. 5, 2 Cor. i 19. [4] Acts xix. 22, 1 Thess. iii. 2.
[5] *Ibid.* 6. [6] I. i. 1, II. i. 1.
[7] Rom. xvi. 21. [8] 1 Cor. iv. 17.
[9] 1 Cor. xvi. 10. [10] 1 Cor. i. 1. [11] Acts xx. 4. [12] Phil. ii. 19.
[13] Heb. xiii. 23. [14] *H.E.* III. iv. 6, *cf. Apost. Constit.* VII. 46.
[15] 1 Tim. iv. 12. St. Ignatius writes to the Magnesians, iii., that they "are not to contemn the youthful estate of their bishop, of which

even if we had not St. Paul's tender admonitions to him.

For some ill-defined reason it has become customary of late to speak of Timothy as though he had proved somewhat of a failure. But the reasons alleged amount to little more than the fact that St. Paul betrays a most intelligible anxiety for his success. The delicacy of the missions entrusted to him shows that he had more than once proved his worth. To the Apostle Timothy is always the "beloved son";[1] to him his last letter was penned, and the yearning for a sight of him once more before his death is pathetically expressed in the refrain, "Desiring to see thee. . . . Make haste to come to me quickly. . . . Make haste to come before winter!"[2] According to St. Jerome, Timothy lies buried at Constantinople, whither his body was brought in company with those of St. Luke and St. Andrew.[3]

Plan of the Epistle.

A. i. 1-2. *The opening salutations.*

B. i. 3-20. *The Apostle's charge to Timothy.*

(*a*) He had been left in Ephesus to counteract certain false teachers who have gone astray after *vain babblings* supposed to be according to the Law, whereas *the Law is good if a man use it lawfully;* neither was it *made for the just, but for the unjust* . . . for those who are *contrary to sound doctrine which is according to the Gospel of the blessed God, which hath been committed to my trust.*

(*b*) i. 12-17. The Apostle's thanksgiving to God that he, though a sinner, has been faithful to this charge.

(*c*) i. 18-20. He renews his charge to Timothy; the principle is *faith and a good conscience.* Through neglect of these Hymenæus and Alexander have been delivered by the Apostle *to Satan.*

C. ii. 1-iii. 16. *Hence the moral teaching of the Epistle.*

(*a*) ii. 1-7. Prayer must be made for all in power that we may be able to live in peace and in chastity; for there is but *one Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus,* whose preacher and Apostle is Paul, by Whom, too, he has been appointed *the doctor of the Gentiles.*

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we are well aware, but, as men prudent in God, they must yield him obedience, not indeed to him himself, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, to the Bishop of all."

[1] 1 Tim. i. 18, vi. 20, 2 Tim. i. 2. [2] 2 Tim. i. 4, iv. 8, 21.

[3] *Contra Vigilantium,* V, *P.L.* XXIII. 258.

(*b*) ii. 8-15. They must pray, then, both men and women, with modesty. The women are to *learn in silence with all subjection . . . I suffer not a woman to teach nor to use authority over the man, but to be in silence.*

(*c*) iii. 1-7. Of the qualifications requisite in the bishops.

(*d*) iii. 8-16. Of the qualifications requisite in deacons; they must hold *the mystery of faith in a pure conscience.*

D. iv. 1-vi. 10. *Of the troubles that are to arise in the future and of preparation for them.*

(*a*) iv. 1-8. The Spirit hath foretold that heresies will arise and that men will treat as evil the good things which God hath created.

(*b*) iv. 8-16. But it is a faithful saying that we suffer because *we hope in the living God, Who is the Saviour of all men.* Therefore Timothy himself must be an example; he must be earnest in teaching, and be solely concerned with the fulfilment of his priestly ministry.

(*c*) v. 1-16. Hence let him not fear to correct the old, whether men or women, with modesty; the younger women, too, are to be carefully looked after.

(*d*) v. 17-22. The priests that rule well are to be treated with especial honour, and are not to be lightly accused. Timothy is to be cautious in admitting men to the priesthood; he is to be careful of his own health.

(*e*) vi. 1-10. Submission. Servants must be submissive; those who teach false doctrine are stubborn, and do not realize that the only true *gain is godliness with contentment;* hence all avarice is to be avoided.

E. vi. 11-21. *Concluding words on Timothy's own personal life.*

(*a*) vi. 11-16. He himself must be careful to fly all such things as the above; mindful of the *good confession of Jesus Christ before Pontius Pilate,* he must keep himself *blameless until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

(*b*) vi. 17-19. The Apostle recurs to the subject of the rich: they must strive *to be rich in good works,* and so to lay up for themselves *a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on the true life.*

(*c*) vi. 20-21. Finally, Timothy is exhorted to keep the deposit committed to him, for *some have erred concerning the faith.*

The Second Epistle to Timothy.

Analysis of the Epistle.

A. i. 1-2. *The introduction: Paul, an Apostle . . . according to the promises of life . . . to Timothy, my beloved son.*

B. i. 3-iv. 18. *The body of the Epistle.*

(*a*) i. 3-5. The Apostle's gratitude for Timothy's faith; his prayers for him.

(*b*) i. 6-10. Let him, therefore, stir up the grace of his priesthood, and not be ashamed of the Gospel, since, *not according to our*

works, but according to His own purpose and grace, has God called us. This purpose was from eternity, but is only now revealed in the Gospel of which he, Paul, is a minister; and he is not ashamed of the Gospel, nor of the sufferings it has brought upon him.

(*c*) i. 13-18. Therefore let Timothy *hold the form of sound words* which he has received; for, as he knows, many have apostatized from the Apostle—all those in Asia, for example, and especially Hermogenes and Phigellus. Onesiphorus, on the contrary, has been an example of charity.

(*d*) ii. 1-26. Timothy, then, must be strong in the grace given him; he must labour, he must ever remember that the Apostle's Gospel is that *Jesus Christ is risen from the dead, of the seed of David;* that he has had to suffer for this Gospel, but *if we be dead with Him, we shall live also with Him.* Timothy must shun all idle fables such as those of Hymenæus and Philetus, who *say that the resurrection is past already.* Yet he must not wrangle, but must *admonish with modesty, if peradventure God may give them repentance to know the truth.*

(*e*) iii. 1-9. Of the dangers that shall come *in the last times* from men that are *lovers of pleasures rather than lovers of God;* but Timothy fully possesses the Apostle's doctrine, and, with the help of *the Holy Scriptures inspired of God,* will be able to correct *and to instruct unto justice.*

(*f*) iv. 1-5. Once more, then, he renews his exhortations to earnestness: Timothy must *preach the word in season and out of season,* for a time is at hand when men *will not endure sound doctrine.*

(*g*) iv. 6-18. The Apostle describes his present state of resignation: he is *ready to be sacrificed, he has finished his course, he has kept the faith,* he looks forward to the *crown laid up for him* in that day. He tells Timothy who they are who are with him and who have left him, some on apostolic work, some back to the world; he describes his first trial: *All forsook me . . . but the Lord stood by me . . . and He will preserve me unto His heavenly kingdom.*

(*h*) iv. 19-22. The concluding salutations; he prays Timothy to make haste to come to him *before winter.*

J. The Epistle to Titus.

The third of the *Pastoral Epistles,* according to the general order, though really in point of time preceding the *Second Epistle to Timothy,* is that addressed to Titus, "My beloved son according to our common faith."[1] Titus ranks with Timothy in the high place he holds in the Apostle's affections, and in the delicacy of the missions entrusted to him.

[1] Titus i. 4.

In view of this fact it is remarkable that he is nowhere mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*. Yet the *Epistle to the Galatians*, as well as the *Second to the Corinthians*, show that the part played by Titus in apostolic history was no mean one. Thus St. Paul says[1] that "after fourteen years" he "went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me," and he dwells on the fact that no one on that occasion demanded that Titus—who thus was clearly a Greek—should be circumcised. Two great missions were entrusted to Titus—the pacification of the Corinthian Church and the organization of the Church in Crete. The former task fell to him in his younger days in the faith, the latter when he had arrived at maturity. His work at Corinth justified the confidence reposed in him, and his success there, as well as the tact, delicacy and zeal he displayed, endeared him to St. Paul who, in his account of Titus' various embassies to Corinth, speaks of him in terms of the highest commendation. It seems that Titus had been sent to Corinth a year before the despatch of *Second Corinthians*,[2] and that he had then arranged and definitely organized the collection of alms for the poor at Jerusalem—a work which St. Paul had so much at heart.[3] Shortly after this, however, trouble of a grave kind[4] had arisen in the Corinthian Church, and the Apostle had found it necessary to send Titus thither in order to investigate the case. St. Paul awaited the result of this mission at Troas,[5] but, anxious at not finding Titus there, he passed into Macedonia, where[6] he was comforted by the arrival of Titus with the best of news which was, if possible, augmented by the keen interest Titus displayed in the affairs of the Corinthians.[7] This encouraged St. Paul to ask him to undertake what was apparently a third visit to Corinth for the purpose of finally carrying out the collection of alms.[8] The three visits thus paid to Corinth by Titus would then be concerned—the first with the organization of the collection,[9] the second with the investigation of the troubles at Corinth,[10] the third with the completion of the collection set

[1] Gal. ii. 1-3. [2] 2 Cor. viii. 6, 10, xii. 18.
[3] See above, p. 132.
[4] See *Introduction* to *Second Corinthians*. [5] 2 Cor. ii. 12-13.
[6] *Ibid.* vii. 6-7. [7] *Ibid.* viii. 16-24. [8] *Ibid.* viii. 6, 16-17.
[9] *Ibid.* xii. 18. [10] *Ibid.* ii. 13.

on foot previous to the troubles which had led to the second visit.[1]

Now it must be confessed that this great activity on the part of Titus makes the silence about him in *Acts* all the more impressive. Timothy, Silas, etc., are mentioned freely, not so Titus. St. Luke might to all intents and purposes never have heard of him. Yet it is inconceivable that Luke was not well acquainted with him. His silence, then, must have some adequate explanation. It is impossible to hold that this silence betrays the true author of *Acts*—in other words, that Titus was really the author—much as the silence of the *Fourth Gospel* about John the son of Zebedee affords us more than a hint that this same son of Zebedee was in truth the author. It has been suggested, then, that the true explanation lies in the possible kinship of Titus and the author, much as St. John is silent about his own relatives in his Gospel. Is it possible that Luke and Titus were brothers? Such a speculation might at first sight seem fantastic, but there is more in its favour than at once meets the eye. The arguments may be expressed summarily as follows: in 2 Cor. xii. 18 the Rheims version has "I requested Titus, and I sent with him *a* brother"; but St. Paul used the definite article τὸν ἀδελφον, and we cannot afford to disregard it. To render it baldly, however, as does the Revised Version, "*the* brother" is equally unsatisfactory. Why this reticence about someone whose "praise was in the Gospel"? Hence it has been suggested that this unnamed person was really Titus' brother, and that the Greek definite article here demands such an understanding of the text. But Luke was an Antiochian; is there any proof that Titus was so? In Acts xi. 30 we read that the Church of Antioch sent Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem to minister to the poor there; in xii. 25 they return, having with them John Mark. If, as seems highly probable, Gal. ii. 1-3 refers to this same episode, then we learn that Titus, too, was with them. The fact that he was uncircumcised shows that he was a Greek; if he really did go up with Barnabas and Saul, he will have gone from Antioch; indeed, it is probable that outside that city there were at the time few, if any,

[1] 2 Cor. viii. 6, 16-17.

Greek Christians. When we add to this the conjunction of the names Luke and Titus in 2 Tim. iv. 10-11, we seem to have confirmation of the suggested relationship between these two.

Just, then, as John hides his own identity and declines to refer to his own relations in his Gospel, so, too, does Luke hide his identity and that of his relatives in his *Acts*. The consequences of this identification of Luke with "the brother" of 2 Cor. viii and xii are far-reaching. For first of all we shall have a rational explanation of the total omission of Titus' name from *Acts*—an omission which clamours for explanation; and secondly, we shall arrive at Luke's authority for those details of St. Paul's missionary life which preceded his own appearance on the scene. The only difficulty that could be urged is that if the two brothers were really Antiochians, it is strange that they should not both have joined St. Paul together, whereas Luke apparently did not form one of the party till well on in St. Paul's second journey, Acts xvi. But Eusebius, when telling us that Luke was an Antiochian,[1] makes use of a peculiar expression which is obscured in the Latin translation, where "domo Antiochenus" hardly expresses τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας, which would rather mean "by parentage belonging to people who came from Antioch"; in other words, Eusebius seems to be peculiarly careful not to say that Luke was born in Antioch, but that the family from which he sprung was an Antiochian one, though apparently not resident in that city when Luke was born. Titus, then, might have joined St. Paul from Antioch at an early date, Acts xi. 30, while Luke, who was residing elsewhere, only joined him later.[2]

Titus was afterwards appointed by St. Paul bishop in Crete,[3] whence he is urged to come, when free, to the Apostle, who has arranged to winter at Nicopolis.[4] At a later period he was in Dalmatia.[5]

[1] *H.E.* III. iv., *P.G.* XX. 220.

[2] For discussions of the subject, see Ramsay, *S.P.T.* 390; Souter in *Expository Times*, March, April, May, 1907; also *Expository Times*, September, 1911, and *Expositor*, May, 1916, and May, 1917.

[3] Titus i. 5; *cp. Apostolic Constitutions*, VII. 46, and *H.E.* III. iv. 6.

[4] iii. 12.

[5] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

St. Jerome says[1] that St. Paul, since he was unable to set forth the full majesty of his divine teaching in Greek, employed Titus as his secretary, just as Peter employed Mark.

The bearers of our *Epistle to Titus* may have been Zenas and Apollo.[2]

The *Epistle to Titus* is occupied with much the same theme as that in 1-2 *Timothy*. St. Paul had left Titus in Crete,[3] and apparently his disciple had written for advice regarding certain difficulties he had experienced. The Apostle's reply might be summed up in the one word "discipline." Titus is to teach "sound doctrine," he is to organise the Church in the island, to ordain fit men, to avoid idle disputations, and to be firm.[4] A noticeable feature of the Epistle is the way in which doctrinal teaching is intermingled with practical advice.[5] The same teaching on practical subjects occurs as in 1-2 *Timothy;* wine-drinking and avarice are condemned;[6] patience, hospitality, gentleness, godliness, sobriety, chastity, are insisted on.[7] But especially does the Apostle dwell on the necessity of good works.[8] The same straightforward teaching regarding the position of women appears[9] as in the letters to Timothy. The great need is soundness of doctrine[10]—faith must be nourished.[11] The doctrines of election,[12] of everlasting life,[13] and of justification by grace,[14] are taught as in the rest of St. Paul's Epistles. Heresies were already rife,[15] and "they of the circumcision" were a cause of trouble."[16] From this source, as well as from the notorious difficulty of the Cretan character, an uncomfortable situation had arisen.[17] The remark that "the Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies,"[18] is taken from Epimenides.[19]

[1] *Ep.* CXX. 11, *ad Hedibiam*, *P.L.* XXII. 1002.
[2] Titus iii. 13. [3] Titus i. 5.
[4] See Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Prologue* to his *Commentary* on the Epistle, *ed.* Swete, II., p. 233.
[5] Titus i. 15, ii. 11-14, iii. 4-7. [6] *Ibid.* i. 7. [7] *E.g. ibid.* i. 7-8.
[8] *Ibid.* i. 16, ii. 7, 14, iii. 1, 8, 14. [9] *Ibid.* ii. 3-5.
[10] *Ibid.* i. 9, 13, ii. 1, 2, 7, 8, 10.
[11] *Ibid.* i. 1, 4, 9, 13, 15, ii. 2, 10, iii. 15.
[12] *Ibid.* i. 1, iii. 5. [13] *Ibid.* i. 2, iii. 7. [14] *Ibid.* iii. 7.
[15] *Ibid.* iii. 10-11. [16] *Ibid.* i. 10-11, *cp.* i. 14-16, iii. 9.
[17] *Ibid.* i. 9, ii. 15, iii. 10-11. [18] *Ibid.* i. 12.
[19] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* I. xiv. So, too, St. Jerome *in loco*, though he points out that Callimachus of Crete has at least a part

The Date of the Epistle.—In the history preserved for us in *Acts* we have no hint of any evangelization of Crete by St. Paul. But that he was in the island is clear from this *Epistle to Titus*.[1] It is most probable that his visit there took place after his release from his first Roman captivity, and therefore between the years 60 and 65. Our Epistle apparently was written from Macedonia[2] when St. Paul was on his way to Nicopolis.[3] Acts ii. 11 allows us to suppose that the Church had already made some progress in Crete when the Apostle visited it.

Analysis of the Epistle.

A. i. 1-4. *The introduction: Paul, a servant of God, an Apostle of Christ,* in accordance with the promises of God revealed now in the preaching committed to him, *to Titus my beloved son according to the common faith.*

B. i. 5-iii. 11. *The body of the Epistle.*

(*a*) i. 5-16. Instructions as to whom he is to ordain as priests and bishops; for some have neglected *the sound doctrine, especially they of the circumcision . . . giving heed to Jewish fables . . . such must be reproved . . . teaching the things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake.*

(*b*) ii. 1-15. Wherefore let Titus teach *sound doctrine* to the aged, whether men or women, and to the young, whether men or women, let him teach sobriety, chastity, and patience; to servants, subjection. And this because *the grace of God our Saviour hath appeared to all men,* and we must all be *looking for the blessed hope and coming of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.*

(*c*) iii. 1-11. Therefore let him also teach them the spirit of subjection, of obedience, and of gentleness; and this because *the goodness and kindliness of God our Saviour* hath appeared, and, not by the works we have done, *but according to His mercy, hath He saved us.* Hence we all need to be earnest in good works, to avoid idle and foolish questionings, as well as the company of heretics.

C. iii. 12-15. *The conclusion of the Epistle:* he details his plans for the future; Titus is to come to him at Nicopolis, for there he hopes to pass the winter; let all be earnest to *excel in good works that they may be fruitful. The grace of God be with you all. Amen.*

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of the quotation; *cp.* Clement of Alexandria, *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, II. *Cp.*, too, Hippolytus, *Hær.* IV. 6, and the notes in Clark's translation; also Origen, *Contra Celsum*, III. 43; Tatian, *Adv. Græcos*, XXVII; also especially an article in the *Expositor* for January, 1915.

[1] Titus i. 5; *cp.* iii. 15.

[2] St. Jerome says from Nicopolis itself.

[3] Titus iii. 12.

The Canonicity of the Epistle.—St. Clement, 1 *Cor.* ii, quotes Titus iii. 1, though he does not indicate its source; St. Ignatius, *Trall.* iii., apparently refers to Titus ii. 3; the same must be said of St. Justin, who uses the expression "the goodness and kindness of God."[1] The Epistle is given in the *Canon of Muratori;* St. Irenæus twice quotes iii. 10 as St. Paul's.[2] Clement of Alexandria quotes it often;[3] he also refers to it under the heading "the Apostle,"[4] also as "the apostolic Scripture" and as "inspired."[5] Similarly Tertullian quotes Titus iii. 10-11,[6] and he laughs at Marcion for rejecting the *Pastoral Epistles* while accepting the *Epistle to Philemon.*[7] St. Jerome, too, tells us that some repudiated it, but adds that Tatian regarded the *Epistle to Titus* as "the most Pauline" of all.[8]

The Theology of the Epistle.—*God and the Father:* God cannot lie, i. 2; His promises, i. 2; grace and peace are from Him, i. 4, iii. 15; we must know Him, i. 16.

The Christology: the divinity of *Christ our Saviour*, i. 3, 4, ii. 10, 11, 13, iii. 4, 6; He is our Redeemer, ii. 14; He will come again, ii. 13.

The Holy Spirit: renews us in Baptism, iii. 5; and is abundantly poured out upon us, iii. 6.

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[1] *Dial.* XLVII.
[2] *Adv. Hær.* I. xvi. 3, and III. iii. 4.
[3] *Strom.* III. 18, IV. 9.
[4] *Strom.* IV. 20.
[5] *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, I.
[6] *De Præscript.* VI.
[7] *Adv. Marcionem*, V. xxi.
[8] *Prol.* to his commentary on this Epistle, *P.L.* XXVI. 555.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON

A. Theme of the Epistle; Analysis.
B. Its Date.
C. Its Authenticity.
D. Its Canonicity.
E. The Latin Text.
F. The Theological Teaching.
G. Bibliography.

A. General Theme.

This is the shortest, the most personal, and in some respects the most touching in its simplicity of all St. Paul's *Epistles*. The theme is a simple one: Onesimus, a slave of a Christian by name Philemon, has run away from his master. Whether by accident or on purpose, he comes to St. Paul in his prison at Rome and is baptized by him. When writing to the Colossians, St. Paul takes the opportunity to write also to Philemon and ask him to restore to favour the run-away slave who is now his brother in Christ.

Analysis.

i. 1-3. Introductory; salutations.
4-7. He expresses his joy at hearing of Philemon's good works.
8-17. He sets forth his request in favour of Onesimus, not by way of command, but "for charity's sake." He skilfully contrives, ver. 14, to make Philemon's act a generous one, and not a mere grudging acquiescence in what he cannot help; for obviously, ver. 13, Paul might have retained Onesimus as his own body-servant. He hints at the possibility that divine Providence may have permitted Onesimus' fall with a view to his becoming a Christian, ver. 15, and thus doubly dear to his master.
18-21. The Apostle undertakes to pay all that Onesimus may have stolen from his master. He has written the letter with his own

hand; he trusts that Philemon will do even more than he asks, ver. 21.

22-25. He asks for a lodging with Philemon in case he should be able to come to him. He concludes with salutations from his fellow-prisoner Epaphras, and from his fellow-labourers, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke.

B. The Date of the Epistle.

St. Paul writes from prison, vers. 1, 9, 10, 13; Onesimus himself is apparently the bearer, ver. 12, and we know from Col. iv. 9 that he with Tychicus was the bearer of the *Epistle to the Colossians*, as Tychicus was also the bearer of the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, Eph. vi. 21-22. It is not easy to demonstrate that the imprisonment in question was that at Rome; it is at least conceivable that these *Epistles of the Captivity* were written from Cæsarea, but this is by no means likely. On the supposition, then, that they date from Rome they will fall between the years A.D. 58 and 60. Whether the *Epistles to Philemon*, to the *Ephesians*, and *Colossians* preceded that to the *Philippians* is a vexed question, *cf. supra, s.v. Philippians.* St. Jerome supposes that all four were written at the same time;[1] but Theodoret and others after him hold that *Colossians* was written after *Philemon, viz.* on Onesimus' return. We know nothing of Philemon himself except what can be gleaned from this brief Epistle. Appia is termed Philemon's "wife" by Theodore of Mopsuestia,[2] and Archippus is regarded as his son.[3] If this is correct, we may suppose that Philemon lived at Colossæ, for we find Archippus there, Col. iv. 17. The companionship of Tychicus and Onesimus, Col. iv. 7-9, bears this out. St. Jerome suggests that Archippus was actually Bishop of Colossæ,[4] and that this was the "ministry" referred to in Col. iv. 17. It is clear also from ver. 2 that Philemon was a man of importance, since the local Church assembled in his house.[5]

The others whose names occur in this Epistle—Luke, Demas, Epaphras, Aristarchus, and Mark—figure also in

[1] *Commentary on Epistle to Philemon, P.L.* XXVI. 605-606.
[2] *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, ed.* Swete, II, p. 269.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 270.
[4] *P.L.* XXVI. 606; see also *Apostolic Constitutions*, VII. 46.
[5] See St. Chrysostom *in loco*, *P.G.* LXII. 701.

Col. iv. 10-14. Demas is presumably the same with the Demas who *hath left me, loving this world*, 2 Tim. iv. 9.

c. Authenticity of the Epistle.

On this St. Jerome well remarks that:

"Those who are unwilling to reckon the *Epistle to Philemon* among the Epistles of St. Paul maintain that the Apostle did not always nor in all things speak with 'Christ speaking within him.' And this on the ground that human weakness could not sustain the continuous presence of the Holy Spirit, neither could bodily needs be attended to in the presence of the Lord. . . . Hence they affirm that there must have been moments when Paul would not have dared to say: *I live, now not I, but Christ liveth in me* (Gal. ii. 20); nor, *Do ye seek a proof of Christ that speaketh in me?* (2 Cor. xiii. 3). What 'proof of Christ' is it, they ask, when we hear him saying: *The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee?* (2 Tim. iv. 13). . . . Similar things, they say, happened not only to the Apostles, but also to the Prophets; thus we often find it written: *The word of the Lord came to Ezechiel* (Ezech. xxii. 1) or to some other Prophet, and this means that when his prophesying was over he returned to himself and became an ordinary man again instead of a Prophet. . . . With these and similar arguments they strive to show that either the *Epistle to Philemon* is not St. Paul's, or that, if it is, it contains naught that can edify us, since it is merely written as a letter of recommendation, and is not meant to teach us. But those, on the other hand, who maintain the authenticity of this Epistle point out that it would never have been accepted by all the Churches throughout the world unless it were believed to be the Apostle's; and, further, that the same argument would lead to the rejection of the *Second Epistle to Timothy* and also of that to the *Galatians*, from which, too, they draw proofs of human weakness. . . . Yet that the *Epistle to Philemon* is Paul's they might learn even from Marcion. For though he did not acknowledge certain others among St. Paul's Epistles, or, at least, changed and corrupted some things in them, yet on this Epistle alone he did not dare lay hands, for its very brevity was its safeguard. And it seems to me that those who complain of the trifling character of this Epistle betray their own ignorance, for they do not realize the power and wisdom that lies hid in every word of it."[1]

The personal note of the Epistle has been referred to already; it compares in this respect with 2-3 John. The punning allusions in 11 and 20 should be noted; the latter, an allusion to the name Onesimus, cannot be rendered in English.

[1] St. Jerome, *Prologue* to his *Commentary on Philemon*, *P.L.* XXVI.

D. The Canonicity of the Epistle.

The *canonicity* of the Epistle is beyond doubt, but from the lengthy defences of it published by Theodore of Mopsuestia, St. Chrysostom,[1] and St. Jerome, it would appear that in their day it was called in question, partly because of its brevity, partly because it seemed to contain no teaching which merited for it a place in the canon. St. Jerome's words on this point are worth noting, see above.

The punning allusion in ver. 20, referred to above, could hardly have escaped the notice of a Greek reader; when, then, we find St. Ignatius using the same expression six times, we are justified in saying that he knew our Epistle, *cf. Eph.* ii, *Magnes.* ii, xii, *Rom.* v, *ad Polyc.* i, vi. Tertullian[2] remarks that "its brevity alone availed to defend this Epistle against the falsifying hands of Marcion. I wonder, however, that when he admitted this letter, which was addressed but to one man, he should have rejected the two *Epistles to Timothy* and the one to *Titus*, which all treat of ecclesiastical discipline!" Origen on three occasions quotes the Epistle, and always as St. Paul's.[3] Eusebius, by omitting to notice it, implies that it was reckoned among the "undisputed" books.[4]

E. The Latin Text.

As we have already remarked in the case of *Galatians*, *Ephesians*, and the *Epistle to Titus*, the Latin text which St. Jerome repudiates in his commentary on the above Epistles and on *Philemon* is precisely that which we now have in the Vulgate. Our present Epistle to Philemon contains no more than twenty-five verses, yet St. Jerome's Latin text differs from the present Vulgate text in no less than twenty-four places. Thus in ver. 1 he insists on *diligibili* instead of *dilecto*, he reads *cooperatori* instead of *adjutori*; in ver. 6 he renders *ἐνεργής* by *efficax* instead of *evidens*, and reads *in Christum Jesum* in place of the ablative, also omitting *operis*; in ver. 7 he has *habuimus* in place of *habens*; in ver. 8 *quod prodest* instead of *quod ad rem pertinet*, etc.

The Latin version of St. Chrysostom's commentary renders *τοιοῦτος ὢν ὡς Παῦλος πρεσβύτης* by cum talis *sim*, so, too, the Revised Version; St. Jerome and the Vulgate have *sis*; the Greek might be translated either way.

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[1] *Prologue* to *Commentary on the Epistle to Philemon*, *P.G.* LXII. 702.
[2] *Adv. Marcionem*, V. xxi.
[3] *Hom.* XIX. 3 *in Jeremiam*, *ed.* Delarue, III. 263; *Series in Matt.* 66 and 72, *ibid.* 884 and 889.
[4] *H.E.* III. xxv. 2.

F. The Theology of the Epistle.

The *Christology:* in ver. 3 grace and peace are said to proceed from the Father and from Christ in the same way, St. Paul thus showing his view of the divinity of Christ. The expression *in Christ* occurs frequently—vers. 5, 6, 8, 16, 20, 23—doubtless as an indication of the fundamental equality of all, the master as well as the slave. In vers. 1, 9, 23 the Apostle terms himself "the prisoner of Christ"; *cp.* ver. 13, "in the bonds of the Gospel."

The *moral teaching* should be noted: Onesimus has stolen, 18-19, but he has done penance, 10-11; the debt, however, has still to be paid, unless remitted by Philemon, 18-19. Moreover, there is no condemnation of slavery; Onesimus returns to his *master*. It would be absurd to expect the Apostle to demand his manumission—indeed, there is no hint of it—and this is in accordance with Rom. xiii. 1, Titus iii. 1. Theodore of Mopsuestia[1] remarks on this that no one would now write thus, but would demand the slave's manumission! The equality, not only of master and slave in the eyes of Christ, but of man and woman, appears in the way in which the Apostle writes to Philemon and Appia conjointly, 1-2.

G. Bibliography.

Theodore of Mopsuestia, *ed.* Swete, vol. ii; Theodoret, *P.G.* LXXXII.; St. Chrysostom, three *Homilies;* and St. Jerome, *Commentary*, *P.L.* XXVI., are the chief remaining Patristic Commentaries. In modern times: Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*, 2nd. *ed.*, 1876, and Vincent in the *International Critical Commentary, Philippians and Philemon.*

[1] *Comment., ed.* Swete, II., p. 262-263.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

A. Brief Introduction.
B. Analysis of the Epistle.
C. The Problem of Authorship and Destination.
   (*a*) The Character of the Work.
   (*b*) The Testimony of the Fathers to the Person of the Author.
   (*c*) Conclusions.
D. The Date of the Epistle.
E. The Decrees of the Biblical Commission.
F. The Vocabulary and Style.
G. The Theological Teaching.
H. Bibliography.

A. Brief Introduction.

This Epistle is expressly termed "a word of consolation," xiii. 22. But at the same time it is a theological treatise with an apologetic or defensive scope. Its purpose is clearly set forth in vi. 1-2, where the author says that he is going to launch out into *things more perfect*, and is not going to treat of the elements, such as penance, faith, baptism, imposition of hands, the resurrection of the dead, and the judgment. He has already, iv. 14-v. 10, spoken of the High Priesthood of Christ according to the order of Melchisedec, and has warned his readers that on this subject he has much to say that is difficult to grasp. He then launches out into this question, and, down to the end of chap. x, sets forth the pre-eminence of Christ's priesthood over that of the Levitical order. Christ is the one Priest Who has won for us free access to the throne of grace, and by Him salvation is for all that are called, ix. 15.

B. Analysis of the Epistle.

A. i. 1-4. *The theme of the Epistle: the superiority of the revelation made through Christ,* the Son of God, to that made of old to the Patriarchs through the Prophets.

B. i. 5-ii. 18. For *Christ is superior to the Angels*, who were the ministers through whom the old dispensation was given (Gal. iii. 19).

(*a*) What the voice of prophecy said of the Messias as contrasted with what was said to the Angels, i. 5-14.

(*b*) How diligent, then, we must be in observing this new Law, for God has subjected to its Author all things, even *the world to come*, ii. 1-8.

(*c*) In order to win for Himself this dominion over all things Christ made Himself by His humanity *lower than the Angels;* He has *taken hold of the seed of Abraham*, and has thus *become a merciful and faithful High Priest*, ii. 9-18.

C. iii-iv. 16. *He is also superior to Moses*, to whom the Angels gave the old covenant.

(*a*) For whereas Moses was but a servant in the house, Christ was as the Son in His own house, iii. 1-6.

(*b*) Further, those who were with Moses did not *enter into rest* except they believed, iii. 7-19.

(*c*) So we, too, must fear lest through want of faith we also fail to *enter into that supreme rest* which Christ hath prepared for us, iv. 1-7.

(*d*) And the fact that even "in David" a "rest" is spoken of as yet attainable shows that the "rest" won for them of old by Josue was but figurative: *there remaineth therefore a day of "rest" for the people of God*, iv. 8-13.

(*e*) And into this supreme "rest," namely *the heavens*, Jesus the Son of God, the great High Priest, hath passed, iv. 14-16.

This resumes the thought of ii. 17-18, and leads the writer to speak of the main argument for the superiority of Christianity, namely:

D. v-x. 18. *The superiority of the priesthood of Christ over the Levitical priesthood.*

(*a*) The agreement between the High Priesthood of Christ and that of those *taken from among men*, v. 1-10.

i. The latter have to offer sacrifice for sins, and, *being compassed with infirmity*, can have compassion on their fellow-men; and, being themselves men, they have to offer for their own sins as well as for those of others; lastly, they take not the honour to themselves, but are *called of God*, v. 1-4.

ii. So also Christ took not the honour to Himself, but He Who begot Him also declared Him *a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedec.* So also by His

sufferings He became the cause of eternal salvation to them that obey Him, v. 5-10.

iii Before developing the doctrine of Christ's priesthood according to Melchisedec the author digresses to point out that his readers are in danger of losing sight of this doctrine, and will have to relearn the elements of the oracles of God. Let them, however, lay aside these elementary questions and aim at perfection, since for those who are obstinate in sin there is no chance of their being renewed again unto penance. But he hopes for better things from them; he hopes that *through faith and patience* they may *inherit the promises;* these promises are unchangeable, since they are made by the unchangeable God upon His own unchangeable oath; hence comes our hope, the *anchor of our soul*, and by it we enter in even beyond the veil, whither Jesus, the *High Priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedec*, has entered for us, v. 11-vi. 20.

(*b*) This priesthood, then, of Melchisedec—typical of that of Christ—was superior to that of the Levitical priests, vii. 1-28.

i. An account of Melchisedec, vii. 1-3.

ii. His greatness:

(*a*) He received tithes even from Abraham and blessed him, vii. 4-8.

(*b*) And thus even Levi—in the person of Abraham—paid him tithes, vii. 9-10.

iii. If, then, another priest was to arise according to the order of Melchisedec, it is clear that the Levitical priesthood was to be ultimately transferred, and with it also the Law which they administered, vii. 11-14.

iv. This becomes still more clear if this priest who is to arise *is made not according to the law of a carnal commandment, but according to the power of an indissoluble life*—as was the case—for thou art a priest *for ever* . . ., vii. 15-17.

v. The Law, then, was set aside, as being imperfect, in favour of *a better hope, by which we draw nigh to God;* and this latter was—unlike the Levitical priesthood—confirmed by an oath. The *Lord hath sworn and He will not repent: Thou art a priest for ever. Jesus*, then, is *the surety of a better covenant*, vii. 18-22.

vi. Hence, too, whereas the Levitical priests were many—for as they died they had to be replaced—Christ is but One Priest, for His priesthood is everlasting. Hence, too, He saves *for ever*, for He is *always living to make intercession for us*. Neither does He need to offer *daily*, nor for *Himself*, but *once*, and for the *people* only; for the *Law* made priests who had infirmity, whereas the word of the *oath*—which was subsequent to the Law—perfected the *Son* for *evermore*, vii. 23-28.

(*c*) Of the consequent perfection of Christ's ministry, viii-x. 18.

i. The conclusion of what has been said thus far: *We have such a High Priest . . . in heaven . . . a Minister of the true* and not of the merely typical *tabernacle, pitched by the Lord and not by man*, viii. 1-5.

ii. But He hath also *obtained a better ministry*, since He is the *Mediator of a better testament, established on better promises;* this better testament was foretold by Jeremias, viii. 6-13.

iii. The contrast between the ministry of the Old and the New Testament, ix. 1-x. 18.

(*a*) Of the tabernacle and its contents, ix. 1-5.

(*b*) Only the High Priest entered into the Holy of Holies, and that once each year, and with the blood of animals, which he was to offer for himself as well as for the people; moreover, this sacrifice could not cleanse the conscience, ix. 6-10.

(*c*) But Christ, *the High Priest of the good things to come*, has entered once and for all into the perfect tabernacle, that of heaven, and with His own blood hath purchased an eternal redemption, whereby our consciences are cleansed, ix. 11-14.

(*d*) Therefore He is the Mediator of the New Testament, and that by means of His death; thus His death was a necessity, for inheritance demands a testament, and a testament is of no force till the death of the testator, whence the importance attaching under the old dispensation to the idea of blood-shedding, ix. 15-22.

(*e*) Again, the antitype must be superior to the type, and so Christ entered not into the earthly tabernacle, but into heaven itself; neither did He offer Himself often, but once and for all, and this for the destruction of sin—in fine, just as there is but one death and one judgment, so Christ offered Himself once and for all for the sins of many; when He shall come again He shall have no burden of our sins, but shall be for salvation *for them that expect Him*, ix. 23-28.

(*f*) The Law, on the other hand, was *but a shadow* of these *good things to come;* hence the yearly *commemoration* of sins, with the offering of the blood of animals, which could never *take away* sins, x. 1-4.

(*g*) Christ, as foretold in the thirty-ninth Psalm, abolished the Old Testament sacrifices, and

we are sanctified by the oblation of the body of Jesus Christ, once and for all, x. 5-10.

(*h*) Again, the Levitical priest offered *daily* the *self-same sacrifices which could never take away sins;* but Christ offered but *one* sacrifice, whereby He *perfected for ever* those who are sanctified. This, too, was foretold by Jeremias, x. 11-18.

E. x. 19-xii. 29. *The practical consequences of this doctrine.*

(*a*) Having, therefore, such grounds for confidence that we can enter into the Holy of Holies by reason of the blood of Christ through the new way He has dedicated—that is to say, through the veil of His flesh—we need faith and hope and charity as well as contrition for sin, for *it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.* Let them, therefore, recall what they were in the early days of their conversion, x. 19-37.

(*b*) But the principal thing is Faith: for *My just man liveth by faith;* the definition of faith, x. 38-xi. 1.

(*c*) The part Faith played in the lives of the Patriarchs, xi. 2-40.

i. Of *Abel*, *Enoch*, and *Noe* as examples of Faith, xi. 2-7.

ii. *Abraham* by Faith obeyed the call; he and *Isaac* and *Jacob* by Faith were content to dwell in *tents* in the Promised Land—for they looked forward to a *city*, the builder of which is God; so, too, by Faith *Sara* conceived, and their children were *as the stars of heaven in multitude*, xi. 8-12.

iii. Yet none of these actually received the promises; they lived in the hope of a heavenly country; therefore God hath prepared for them a city, xi. 13-16.

iv. The fruits of this Faith: Abraham offered up Isaac; Isaac *by faith also of things to come* blessed Jacob and Esau; Jacob in his turn blessed the sons of Joseph; Joseph foretold the exodus; the parents of Moses *feared not the king's edict;* Moses himself declined to be called the son of Pharao's daughter, but by Faith left Egypt and celebrated the Passover; by the same Faith the Israelites crossed the Red Sea and also threw down the walls of Jericho, and by the same Faith Rahab was saved, xi. 17-31.

v. What Faith did for the Judges, for David, Samuel, and the Prophets; their sufferings; *the world was not worthy* of such, yet they *received not the promise, God providing some better thing for us, that they should not be perfected without us*, xi. 32-40.

(*d*) We, then, must imitate this *cloud of witnesses*, and must *run by patience to the fight . . . looking on Jesus the Author and Perfecter of Faith.* He despised the shame of the Cross; we, too, must be ready to suffer even as He, xii. 1-11.

i. Therefore let us *lift up the hands which hang down and the feeble knees;* let us follow peace and holiness, and let

us beware lest we idly sell our birthright and find that we cannot regain it, xii. 12-17.

ii. For we are not come to Mount Sinai to hear the terrible voice of God, but *to Mount Sion, to the city of the Living God, to the Church of the first-born, to God the Judge of all, to the spirits of the just made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the New Testament, and to the sprinkling of the blood which speaketh better than that of Abel.* Let us, then, not refuse to hear His voice when He speaketh *from heaven* lest we be rejected as were they who refused to hear it when He spoke *on earth;* let us serve with fear and reverence, *for our God is a consuming fire,* xii. 18-29.

F. xiii. 1-17. *The moral teaching of the Epistle.*

(*a*) Let them exercise charity and hospitality; marriage must be undefiled; their manners must be without covetousness, xiii. 1-6.

(*b*) Let them remember the doctrine they have learned from their Prelates: *Jesus Christ, yesterday and to-day and the same for ever;* for they have *an altar of which they have no power to eat who serve the tabernacle;* and just as the bodies of the animals that had been offered in sacrifice were burned without the camp, so Christ went *without the gate* to complete His sacrifice: *let us then go forth to Him without the camp, bearing His reproach; for we have not here a lasting city, but we seek one that is to come.* Finally, let them *obey their Prelates,* who have to give an account of their souls, xiii. 7-17.

G. xiii. 18-25. *The conclusion of the Epistle.*

(*a*) He begs for their prayers: *that I may be restored to you the sooner,* 18-19.

(*b*) He prays that the God of Peace, Who brought again from the dead the *Great Pastor of the sheep,* our Lord Jesus Christ, through the blood of the Everlasting Covenant, may make them well-pleasing in His sight, 20-21.

(*c*) He begs them to *accept this word of consolation;* he tells them that Timothy, *our brother,* is set at liberty, and that he hopes to see them shortly. *The brethren from Italy salute you. Amen,* 22-25.

C. The Literary Problem.

(*a*) The writer is clearly a Hellene and a Jew; his flowing Greek and his intimate knowledge of the Old Testament ritual are sufficient to prove these two points respectively. But three questions arise: Who wrote the Epistle? Whence did he write it? And to what Church? We will take the last question first: To whom was the *Epistle to the Hebrews*

addressed? It is often assumed that the expression in xiii. 24, "the brethren from Italy salute you," would indicate that it was penned in Rome. Yet it might justly suggest exactly the opposite conclusion, for the brethren from Italy would naturally signify Italians who were precisely not in Italy and still less in Rome—much like the "Italic cohort" of Acts x. 1. And if this be a correct interpretation, it seems to point to the Church in Italy as precisely the Church addressed rather than as the Church whence the Epistle comes, for the Italians in exile would naturally salute their fellow-countrymen in an Epistle addressed to the mother-country. That the writer was in prison may perhaps be gathered from xiii. 19,[1] and if we hold that St. Paul was the author of it we might be tempted to feel that he perhaps penned it when in prison at Cæsarea, where the "Italic cohort" was stationed. Again, the Epistle seems addressed to Greek-speaking Christians who are converts from Judaism. It is quite possible that such converts were to be found in Jerusalem, but is it at all likely that the Church at Jerusalem would be largely composed of such? Further, is it likely that an Epistle in Greek would be addressed to them? Is it not far more probable it would have been written in Aramaic—like St. Matthew's Gospel?

On the other hand, all the above circumstances fit in if the converts at Rome were the recipients of the Epistle. The only difficulty would be that we should then have two Epistles to the Romans! This, however, need not disconcert us unless we feel bound to hold that St. Paul was literally the author of both Epistles.

The generally accepted view is, of course, that the *Epistle to the Hebrews* was addressed to the Church at Jerusalem; but apart from the fact that this seems to have been the opinion of the Fathers who have treated the subject, there seems to be no solid ground for the notion; indeed, it almost seems as though, to the minds of most, "Hebrews" spelt "Jerusalem."

If, then, we can accept the view that this Epistle was addressed to the Roman Church, we shall have to try and

[1] The *Textus receptus* in x. 34 has "*my* bonds," a reading which has some MS. support.

discover who wrote it. For convenience' sake we will treat simultaneously of—

(*b*) **The Authenticity and Canonicity of the Epistle.**—The *Epistle to the Hebrews* is the only one in which no clear statement of the author's name is to be found; indeed, the only hints as to his identity occur in xiii. 3, 19, 23. Since the question of the author's identity was discussed at a very early date, we cannot do better than set down some of the classical statements that the Fathers of the Church have made on the subject. Eusebius has preserved for us the views held by Origen and Clement of Alexandria:

"In his homilies on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *Origen* makes the following statements: 'That the verbal style of the Epistle entitled "to the Hebrews" is not rude like the language of the Apostle who acknowledged himself rude in speech—that is, in expression—but that its diction is purer Greek, anyone who has the power to discern differences of phraseology will acknowledge. Moreover, that the thoughts of the Epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged apostolic writings, anyone who carefully examines the apostolic text will admit.' Further on he adds: 'If I gave my opinion, I should say that the thoughts are those of the Apostle, but the diction and phraseology are those of someone who remembered the apostolic teachings and wrote down at leisure what had been said by his teacher. Therefore, if any Church holds that this Epistle is by Paul, let it be commended for this; for not without reason have the ancients handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote the Epistle, in truth, God knows. The statement of some who have gone before us is that Clement, Bishop of the Romans, wrote the Epistle, and others that Luke, the author of the Gospel and the Acts, wrote it.'"[1]

These are Origen's critical doubts, but in practice he has no doubts as to the canonicity, inspiration, and Pauline authorship of the Epistle which he repeatedly quotes; thus "I think it sufficient to give but this one testimony from the Epistle of St. Paul which he wrote to the Hebrews . . ."; he then quotes Heb. xi. 25-26.[2] In the same fashion he quotes vi. 3, 7,[3] and once again he cites viii. 5, but simply as "in another Epistle."[4] In all these passages the Epistle is quoted in support of some dogmatic point. Similarly, when maintaining that the Jews had probably falsified some apocryphal book in which it was stated that Isaias was

[1] *H.E.* VI. xxv. 11-14.
[2] *De Principiis, Prol.* i., *P.G.* XI. 115.
[3] *Ibid.* III. i. 10, *P.G.* XI. 265.
[4] *Ibid.* IV. i. 13, *P.G.* XI. 370.

sawn asunder—a statement which is, he says, confirmed by the *Epistle to the Hebrews*—he adds:

"After this demonstration it is probable that some who are hard put to it may take refuge in the view of those who reject this Epistle on the ground that it is not St. Paul's; but against such folk we should have to use quite other arguments in order to demonstrate that it is by St. Paul."[1]

The views of *Clement of Alexandria* are also set forth by Eusebius[2] who tells that in his *Hypotyposes* Clement says:

"That the Epistle to the Hebrews is the work of Paul, and that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew tongue, but that Luke translated it carefully and published it for the Greeks, whence it comes that the same style of expression is found in this Epistle as in *Acts*. But he says that the words 'Paul the Apostle' were probably not prefixed because, in sending it to the Hebrews, who were prejudiced and suspicious of him, he wisely did not wish to repel them at the very outset by giving his name."[3]

Elsewhere[4] Eusebius tells us that in the dispute held at Rome between Caius and Proclus in the Pontificate of Zephyrinus, Caius—

"curbs the rashness of his opponents in setting forth new Scriptures. He mentions only thirteen Epistles of the Blessed Apostle, not counting that to the Hebrews with the others. And unto our day there are some among the Romans who do not consider this a work of the Apostle."

A little later than Origen we find Denis of Alexandria citing the Epistle freely in controversy, A.D. 265.[5] Similarly, Alexander of Alexandria writes to Alexander of Byzantium on the part of the Council of Alexandria in A.D. 321, and quotes Heb. i. 2-3 as "Paul," and as of divine authority for

[1] *Ad Africanum*, ix., *P.G.* XI. 66-67; *cp. Contra Celsum*, III. 53, *P.G.* XI., and *Series* 28 *in Matt.* 990. The persistence of this tradition amongst the Fathers is truly remarkable; thus note Origen, *Series* 11 *in Matt.* and *Hom.* I. *in Isaiam*; *Apostolic Constit.* I. vi. 15; St. Jerome, *in Isaiam*, xx. and lvii.; St. Justin, *Dial.* 120, *P.G.* VI. 755; Prudentius, *Hymn* V. *Peristephanon;* Sulpicius Severus, *Ep.* II; Tertullian, *De Patientia*, xiv, *Carmen adv. Marcionem;* Primasius, *on Heb.* xi, etc.

[2] *H.E.* VI. xiv. 1 4; *cp.* xiii. 5 and III. xxxviii. For a discussion of the view that Clement of Rome was the actual author of the Epistle, see *Expos. Times*, June, 1909.

[3] *Cp.* St. Jerome, *ad Galat.* i. 1, *P.L.* XXVI. 312; similarly St. Chrysostom, *Sermon in Ep. ad Galat.* ii. 11, *P.G.* LI. 381, also *Hom.* I. 1 in *Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* LX. 395.

[4] *H.E.* VI. xx. 3.

[5] Mansi, *Concilia*, I. 1058, 1086, *qu.* IV.

the Eternal Sonship of Christ.[1] Even so independent a thinker as Theodore of Mopsuestia never hesitates to ascribe the Epistle to St. Paul; he constantly quotes it as "Apostolus ad Hebræos,"[2] and mentions it as one of the Epistles which he wrote to "entire Churches" as opposed to individuals.[3]

Photius tells us that Hippolytus declared that the Epistle was not by St. Paul;[4] he says the same of Caius;[5] but it is rather startling to find him adding that neither Irenæus nor Clement of Rome nor Eusebius allowed that St. Paul was its author;[6] Photius further informs us that Clement translated it into Greek.

St. Jerome, of course, is well aware that the question of the authorship of *Hebrews* is a controverted one; but he cuts the knot in characteristic fashion by saying:

"We must remark that this Epistle, which bears the title 'to the Hebrews,' is not only received as St. Paul's by the Churches of the East, but by all the older Greek ecclesiastical writers; though, indeed, many think that it is to be attributed to Barnabas or Clement. Still, it matters nothing whose it is, since it is the work of an ecclesiastical writer, and is daily repeated in the Church's lessons. And if the Latins are not wont to account it amongst the Canonical Scriptures, it must be remembered that the Greek Churches exercise the same freedom with regard to the *Apocalypse* of John. Yet we receive both, for we follow not present-day custom, but the authority of older writers, who constantly use testimonies from either, and this not in the fashion in which they are wont to cite apocryphal books—in like fashion as,

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[1] Mansi, *Concilia*, II. 650; Theodoret, *H.E.* I. 4.

[2] On Eph. i. 10, 16, on Col. i. 15-16, ii. 18, on 1 Tim. iii. 14-15, *ed.* Swete, I. 129, 294, II. 131.

[3] *Argumentum in Ep. ad Philemonem*, Swete, II. 259.

[4] *Bibliotheca*, 121; *P.G.* XCIII. 403.

[5] *Ibid.* 48.

[6] *Ibid.* 233. As a fact, it is noteworthy that there are only two quotations of *Hebrews* in Irenæus' treatise *Adv. Hæreses*, II. xxx. 9 and IV. xi. 4, where he quotes Heb. i. 3 and x. 1, without, however, mentioning the Epistle or its author; yet see Eusebius, *H.E.* V. xxvi., where it is stated that, in a volume of dissertations now lost, Irenæus, according to Eusebius, made use of *Hebrews* and *Wisdom*. For Eusebius' own opinion about the authorship of *Hebrews* note his words: "Paul's fourteen Epistles are well known and undisputed. At the same time it is not right to overlook the fact that some have rejected the *Epistle to the Hebrews;* they say it is disputed by the Church at Rome on the ground that it was not written by St. Paul," *H.E.* III. iii. 5. In his discourse at Tyre Eusebius himself quotes Heb. xii. 6, which is itself a quotation of Prov. iii. 12, but Eusebius has preserved the variant on the text of *Proverbs* which there occurs in *Hebrews*, so that it is clear that he is quoting from the latter, *H.E.* X. iv. 33.

for instance, they sometimes quote profane authors—but they cite this Epistle and the *Apocalypse* as canonical and ecclesiastical."[1]

And more precisely still:

"The Epistle which is entitled 'to the Hebrews' is thought not to be St. Paul's because it differs from the rest in style and language. Some attribute it to Barnabas, as does Tertullian,[2] or to Luke the Evangelist,[3] or to Clement, who was afterwards Bishop of Rome.[4] Those who hold this last-named view say that Clement took Paul's ideas, arranged them, and then expressed them in writing. It may well be that Paul, since he was writing to the Hebrews, did not, by reason of the hatred in which his name was held among them, affix his own name in the opening salutation;[5] for Paul had written in Hebrew like a Hebrew—that is, in fluent fashion and in his own tongue. What, then, they found eloquently written in Hebrew they translated still more eloquently into Greek. This, therefore, may have been the reason why this Epistle seems to differ from the rest of Paul's Epistles."[6]

And again:

"Clement wrote an Epistle to the Corinthians . . . and this seems to me to bear a resemblance to the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, which passes under the name of Paul. Indeed, Clement quotes much from this same Epistle, and not merely the sense of it, but the very order of the words. There is a great resemblance between the two Epistles."[7]

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[1] *Ep.* cxxix. 3, *cp. Ep.* lxxiii. 4, liii. 8; *Comment. in Matt.* xxvi. 8; *in Isaiam*, vi. 2, 9, viii. 18; *in Ezech.* xxvii. 19; *in Amos*, viii. 7; *in Zach.* viii. 3; *in Eph.* ii. 18; *Prol. to Comment. in Ep. ad Titus*, *P.L.* XXVI. 555, and on Titus ii. 2.

[2] *De Pudicitia*, xx. But Tertullian does not "attribute" it to Barnabas. He indicates that in his day it went under the name of Barnabas: "There is extant an *Epistle to the Hebrews* under the name of Barnabas," and he goes on to say that it is "more generally received among the Churches than the apocryphal 'Shepherd.'" He then quotes *in extenso* Heb. vi. 1, 4-6, on the apparent impossibility of repentance after post-baptismal sin; the treatise *De Pudicitia* is one of Tertullian's Montanist works. Many hold that *Hebrews* is really the Epistle written by St. Barnabas, and that the Epistle current under his name was not written by him; see McGiffert's notes on *H.E.* III. iii. 5 and xxv. 4. *Cf.* Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, Bampton Lectures for 1913, pp. 108, 157-160.

[3] *H.E.* III. xxxviii.

[4] *H.E.* VI. xii., where this opinion is said to be that of Clement of Alexandria.

[5] *Cp. H.E.* VI. xiv.; St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* lxiv. See, too, Batiffol, *R.B.*, 1899, p. 278.

[6] *Vir. Illustr.* V.

[7] *Vir. Illustr.* XV. St. Jerome, however, constantly quotes the Epistle as St. Paul's, *e.g.* on *Galat.* iv. 3, v. 22, *Quæst. Hebr. in Genesim*, xiv. 18. At other times he enters a *caveat*, *e.g. in Eph.* ii. 18, *ad Titum*, ii. 2: "Something similar and in cautious fashion is suggested by St. Paul in another Epistle (if, that is, anyone receives it) to a certain

St. Augustine, too, knows of the theoretical doubts: "The Epistle which is entitled 'to the Hebrews,' and which many say was written by the Apostle, though others deny it. . . ."[1] Elsewhere Augustine shows his own mind on the subject: "The *Epistle to the Hebrews*, the witness of which is employed by illustrious defenders of the Catholic 'rule.' . . ."[2] Augustine's mind is probably reflected in the Canon of Hippo, A.D. 397: "Pauli Epistolæ XIII., ejusdem ad Hebræos, una." In the Catalogue of Canonical Scriptures drawn up by Pope Innocent I. at the request of Exuperius, the Bishop of Toulouse, in A.D. 401, we have "Epistolæ Pauli XIV."; the same formula is given by the Council of Trent. For the dogmatic use of the Epistle it will be sufficient to refer to the constant use made of it by St. Cyril of Alexandria at the Council of Ephesus.[3]

The general view, then, is that the doctrine is St. Paul's, but expressed by some disciple of his. That the doctrine is St. Paul's is clear; the relation of Judaism to Christianity, the redemptive work of Christ, the pirnciple of justification by faith, and the Christology in general, are such as we are accustomed to associate with St. Paul. The doctrine of the priesthood of Christ, the key-note of the Epistle, is also the key to St. Luke's Gospel, as St. Augustine remarks: "Luke, however, seems occupied rather with the person of the Lord and the priestly stock from which He sprang."[4] The likeness to *Romans* should be noticed; thus *cp.* ii. 10 and Rom. xi. 36; x. 30 and Rom. xii. 19; xii. 14 and Rom. xii. 18; xiii. 2 and Rom. xii. 13.

But while the doctrine is St. Paul's, it must be confessed that the style is not his as known to us from his other Epistles. The *Epistle to the Hebrews* is smooth, calm, impersonal; there are no digressions; there is no tortuous Greek, the writer thinks and writes in Greek as in his own language. Nor does it seem possible to say that St. Paul

class of readers . . ."; and: "Read once more the *Epistle to the Hebrews* by the Apostle St. Paul, or whosoever else you may deem the author of it, for after all it is received amongst the ecclesiastical books. . . ."

[1] *De Civitate Dei*, XVI. xxii; *cp. De Fide et Operibus*, xvii.

[2] *Enchiridion*, 2; *cp.* 8, *P.L.* XL. 235.

[3] See Mansi, *Concilia*, III. 564, 611, 778.

[4] *De Consensu Evangel.* I. ii; *cp.* IV. xiii.

actually wrote the Epistle in Hebrew and that someone translated it for him. For the quotations from the Old Testament are introduced in a fashion which is unique in the New Testament; we never have "as it is written," but always "he saith," *e.g.* iii. 7, iv. 3, 4, 7, v. 6, and this accords with the Rabbinical fashion of which examples are to be found in Philo. Again, certain Greek particles are of very frequent occurrence in St. Paul, *e.g.* εἴτε, 63 times; πότε, 19 times; ἐάν, 88 times; but, with the exception of ἐάν once or twice, none of these occur in *Hebrews*. Of course, a translator could have avoided these renderings; but could he have replaced St. Paul's "Our Lord" by "Christ" or "Jesus"? Further, the writer seems to hint that he himself is not an Apostle, ii. 3. Further, many passages show that he was familiar with the Alexandrians and their methods of Scripture exegesis; thus he has many words which are characteristic of the Alexandrian *Book of Wisdom*, *e.g.* ἀπαύγασμα, i. 3; ὑπόστασις, i. 3, iii. 14, xi. 1—this latter word occurs in 2 Cor. ix. 4, xi. 17, but with a different signification; θεράπων, iii. 5; βεβαίωσις, vi. 16; and ἔκβασις, xiii. 7. These last two occur elsewhere in St. Paul once each, *cf. infra*.[1] Similarly, his mode of arguing from the Old Testament is quite according to the Alexandrian manner of Philo, with whose writings he must have been familiar; thus the presentment of Melchisedec as a type of the Word of God occurs in Philo, so too his use of ἀπαύγασμα and χαράκτηρ, i. 3, and of "the First-begotten," i. 6.[2] It is not surprising, then, that many, seeing that the author was a Jew, a Hellene, a Philonist, was "mighty in the Scriptures," was not an Apostle, was steeped in St. Paul's doctrine, etc., should turn to Acts xviii. 24-28, and claim that Apollo was perhaps the author of the Epistle.

At the same time the weight of tradition is strongly in favour of St. Paul. St. Jerome repeatedly says that the Latins did not regard it as St. Paul's, whereas the Greeks did so.[3] But it is not easy to reckon many Latin writers

[1] See *Expositor*, November, 1917, for the philosophical background of the Epistle.

[2] *Leg. Alleg.* III. 25-26, *De Somniis*, I. 38; *cp. De Plantis*, V, and *De Confusione Linguarum*, XIV.

[3] See above, p 261, note 1.

antecedent to St. Jerome save Tertullian and Lactantius. And of these Tertullian indeed seems to fight shy of the Epistle; he never actually quotes it, though he has many allusions to it; perhaps one of the strongest arguments against Tertullian's authorship of the treatise *Adv. Judæos* is the multiplicity of references to this Epistle. St. Jerome has referred us to the similarity existing between our Epistle and that of St. Clement; and it is noteworthy that Clement has at least twenty citations to or references to the *Epistle to the Hebrews;* indeed, he is saturated with it.[1] This shows, then, that the Roman Church must have changed its attitude towards the Epistle between the close of the first century when Clement wrote and the close of the third when Tertullian wrote. It is possible that we can see the origin of this change in the Novatian controversy, which turned on the interpretation of the difficult passage concerning final impenitence in vi. 4-6, *cf. infra.*

Cardinal Cajetan rejects the Pauline authorship; his grounds for doing so are instructive. He begins by pointing out how doubtful St. Jerome was on the point, and since, he says:

"We have made Jerome our rule in deciding which are the canonical books—for those which he gives as canonical we accept as such, and those which he distinguishes from the canonical books we too place outside the canon—it will follow that since, in Jerome's mind, the authorship of this Epistle was doubtful, so, too, will the Epistle itself remain doubtful; for unless the Epistle is Paul's it will not be clear that it is canonical. Whence, too, it follows that no question touching the faith can be decided on the unsupported authority of this Epistle. This shows what evils result from an author not signing his work!"

Cajetan then goes on to show from internal evidence that the Epistle is unworthy of an Apostle, since the argument in chap. i for proving Christ's superiority to the Angels is faulty, and similarly that in chap. ix., from the nature of a "testament," is contrary to the rules of logic, since one could urge against the author "either that he makes an unwarrantable transition from a testament strictly so called to a mere pact, or that he errs, since he has presumed that in Exod. xxiv, on which his argument is based, there is

[1] For some idea of the extent to which Clement quotes *Hebrews cp.* Heb. i. 3-13 and 1 Clem. xxxvi; Heb. iii. 2, 5 and 1 Clem. xvii and xliii; Heb. iv. 12, 15 and 1 Clem. xxi and xxxvi; Heb. xi. 5, 8, 17, 31, 37 and 1 Clem. ix, x, xii, and xvi; Heb. xii. 1 and 1 Clem. xix.

question of a testament. Neither charge should be laid to an Apostle, least of all to one writing to Hebrews, who would know well the precise meaning of the Hebrew text." And Cajetan concludes:

"After all, why bewilder oneself with conjectures, when in the second chapter the author numbers himself among those whose salvation through the Gospel was confirmed by those who heard the Lord? Whereas St. Paul declares that he learned neither from nor through man, etc."[1]

(*c*) In conclusion, then, we may sum up the conflicting evidence thus: (*a*) The doctrine is certainly Pauline. (*b*) Even apart from the disputed reading in x. 34, verses 18-19, 23, seem to imply that the Epistle is St. Paul's, at least indirectly. (*c*) If it was a deliberately pseudepigraphic writing, St. Paul's name would have been used; it is easier to understand St. Paul's purposed concealment of his own name. (*d*) The Alexandrian tone does not necessarily imply that it was written at Alexandria, nor even by an Alexandrian; acquaintanceship with the writings of Philo and with the Deutero-canonical books, *e.g.* *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* (*cp.* ii. 5, 17, 22, with Ecclus. ii.), would explain much of the vocabulary and of the ideas, especially the typology. (*e*) St. Clement's use of it shows that it was early known at Rome; his silence about St. Paul's share in it may indicate that he knew that it was not directly St. Paul's work. (*f*) The author's knowledge of *Romans* may show that he wrote from Rome. (*g*) That St. Paul himself could not have written it in Greek seems clear from the style. (*h*) Neither does it seem probable that he wrote it in Hebrew, and that he employed someone to translate it, for in that case we should have expected him to do the same with much more reason in the case of Epistles directed to purely Greek Churches, *e.g.* that at Rome. (*i*) We can well understand his wishing to write, and yet, through fear lest an Epistle from him should not be well received, employing someone steeped in his ideas to do it for him,

[1] *Epistolæ Pauli et aliorum Apostolorum ad Græcam veritatem castigatæ*, Paris, 1548, pp. 374-375. It is strange that Cajetan should have made "authority" depend on "authenticity," as he does, but it was a marked tendency of the time. The same remark applies to his complete acceptance of what were, *prima facie*, St. Jerome's views on the canon; see vol. i., pp. 57-60 and 345.

perhaps Barnabas or Clement; note the remarks of Tertullian and St. Jerome on these two names.[1] (*j*) The Roman Church afterwards discouraged the use of the Epistle for the reasons stated by St. Philastrius.[2] (*k*) St. Jerome and St. Augustine only insist on the authority and canonicity of the Epistle, and not on its Pauline authorship. (*l*) At the same time the whole voice of tradition is in favour of the view that St. Paul was in some sense at the back of the Epistle.

D. The Date of the Epistle.

The author is speaking of ideal Judaism and of the ideal Levitical ritual; but even so it is hard to believe that he would have omitted all allusion to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 had that event already taken place. This calamity would have added so dramatic a touch to his argument that we cannot imagine him neglecting it. This gives us a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the Epistle, *viz.* A.D. 70. The writer's familiarity with the *Epistle to the Romans, cf. infra*, will give us a remote *terminus a quo*, *viz.* A.D. 55. If it could be maintained that the Epistle was really directed to Jerusalem, we might find a *terminus a quo* in the death of St. James the Less, A.D. 61.[3] Had our Epistle been written shortly after that event, it is perhaps probable that it would have contained some allusion to it.[4] Similarly, in A.D. 68 there was a grave outbreak of hostilities between the Jews and the Romans in Jerusalem; an allusion to this might have been expected in the Epistle, since it would, in part at least, have served to clinch the argument.[5]

If, on the other hand, we agree to see in this Epistle one written to the Church at Rome there are difficulties to be faced. For in xiii. 7 it seems to be implied that the rulers of the Church there had recently been put to death. If this interpretation were to be pressed, then St. Paul's immediate

[1] *Supra*, pp. 260-261.
[2] See below, p. 273.
[3] *H.E.* II. i. 4; xxxii. 2 and 22.
[4] Thus note St. Chrysostom, *Præl.* ii. *in Ep. ad Hebræos*, *P.G.* LXIII. 11-12.
[5] Varying dates have been suggested, *e.g.* Ramsay, A.D. 58-60; Salmon, 63; Belser, 63-64; Westcott, 64-70.

and direct association with the Epistle would have to be abandoned, since the whole of tradition declares that SS. Peter and Paul were martyred on the same day. Adhering, however, to the traditional view which insists on St. Paul's direct association with the Epistle, we must qualify the word "prelates" in xiii. 7 and take it as referring, not to the great founders of the Roman Church, but to certain lesser lights amongst the heads of the Church. Of course, if this passage does refer to SS. Peter and Paul, and if we refer their martyrdom to A.D. 67, then we should be able to date the Epistle very closely indeed, since it will be later than 67 and before 70—even, perhaps, before 68, *cf. supra.* But then in that case we should have to accept St. Barnabas as its author, since, in accordance with Tertullian's principle,[1] the author of an inspired work must have been an Apostle. Tertullian, as we saw above, may perhaps have regarded Barnabas as the author.[2]

E. Decrees of the Biblical Commission touching the Author, and the Method of Composition, of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The Pontifical Biblical Commission has decided to give the following answers to questions:

Question I.: Are we to attach such importance to the doubts which in the first centuries occupied the minds of some of the Western Fathers touching the divine inspiration and Pauline origin of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*—doubts arising in the first instance from heretical misuse of the Epistle—as to allow these questionings to outweigh the perpetual, unanimous, and constant affirmation of the divine

[1] *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 2-6, *cf. h.l.*, pp. 72-73.

[2] Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, p. 157 n., points out that in the *Index Claromontanus* of the sixth century we have a *stichometrical* catalogue of the books of the Bible, and that in it "there is no mention of the Epistle to the Hebrews. After Jude, however, and before the Apocalypse, comes 'the Epistle of Barnabas,' the length of which is set down as 850 stichoi or lines, the Apocalypse as 1,200. This corresponds to the length of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and not to that of the Epistle of the pseudo-Barnabas." He concludes that the position of this Epistle in the Codex and its length are "well-nigh positive proof" that this is *Hebrews*, *cf.* Batiffol in *R.B.*, 1899, p. 278.

inspiration and Pauline origin of this Epistle by the Eastern Fathers, with whom, after the fourth century, the entire Western Church was in full agreement? Moreover, can the above-mentioned doubts so far outweigh the *Acts* of the Supreme Pontiffs and of the Sacred Councils—particularly that of Trent—as well as the perpetual usage of the Universal Church, as to make us hesitate to assign with certainty a place to this Epistle, not merely amongst the canonical Epistles—for this point is defined as pertaining to the faith—but also among the genuine Epistles of Paul the Apostle?

Reply: In the negative.

Question II.: Is the Pauline origin of the said Epistle weakened by the arguments generally set forth, *e.g.* the unusual absence of the name of Paul and the omission of the customary salutations at the close of the Epistle, the purity of the Greek employed, the elegance of the diction and the perfection of the style, the way in which the Old Testament is quoted in the Epistle, and the fashion in which arguments are based on it, as well, too, as the alleged existence of certain differences between the doctrine expressed in this Epistle and in the rest of St. Paul's Epistles?

Is it the case, on the contrary, that the perfect harmony of doctrine and of ideas, the similarity of the exhortations and admonitions, as well as the agreement in the form of expression—nay, even of the very words used in this and the rest of the writings of the Apostle of the Gentiles—an agreement which is noted even by certain non-Catholics, serve to set forth and confirm the Pauline origin of the said Epistle?

Reply: In the negative to the first part; in the affirmative to the latter.

Question III.: Is the Apostle Paul to be held the author of this Epistle in such a way that it is necessary to maintain that he not merely conceived and set down the whole of it under the guidance of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, but that he even gave it the form it now has?

Reply: In the negative, saving the expression of the Church's further decision.

On June 24, 1914, in an audience graciously accorded to the undersigned Consultor, our Most Holy Lord, Pope Pius X., ratified the above replies and ordered their promulgation.

LAURENCE JANSSENS, O.S.B.,
Consultor ab Actis.

ROME,
June 24, 1914.

F. The Vocabulary and Style of the Epistle.

There are, of course, many words and expressions which are peculiar to this Epistle, *e.g.* *αἰσθητήριον*,† v. 14 ; *ἀκροθίνιον*,* vii. 4 ; *ἀλυσίτελης*,* xiii. 17 ; *ἀμετάθετον*,† vi. 17, 18 ; *ἀπαράβατον*,* vii. 24 ; *δημιουργός*,† xi. 10 ; *διηνεγκής*,† vii. 3, x. 1, xii. 14 ; *ἐνοχλέω*, xii. 15 ; *εὐαρεστεῖν*, xi. 5, 6, xiii. 16 ; *εὐλάβεια*,† v. 7, xii. 28 ; *εὐπερίστατον*,† xii. 1 ; *καταναλάσκων*, xii. 29 ; *μεσιτεύω*,* vi. 17 ; *μετριοπαθεῖν*,* v. 2 ; *νωθρός*,† v. 11, vi. 12 ; *πανήγυρης*, xii. 23 ; *προσώχθισα*, iii. 10, 17 ; *προσχύσις*,* xi. 28 ; *σαββατισμός*,* iv. 9 ; *συγκακουχεῖσθαι*,* xi. 25 ; *τομώτερος*,* iv. 12 ; *τετραχηλισμένα*, iv. 13 ; *τροχιάς*, xii. 13 ; *τυμπανίζω*, xi. 35 ; *ὑποστόλη*,* x. 39, etc. This list might, of course, be much increased. Grimm-Thayer notes 169 *hapax legomena*. It will suffice, however, to show us how freely St. Paul used words which were not in common use ; it will also serve to dissipate the notion that his strange words were all derived from the LXX version. Many of them find no place in that version. It is remarkable, however, how many words he has in common with the less-known books of the Greek Bible, *e.g.* 3-4 *Maccabees*, as well as the Alexandrian books *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*. We have marked these with a dagger ; the asterisk indicates the fact that these words are not used in the Septuagint.

As indicative of St. Paul's connection with the Epistle, if not of his actual authorship of it, we should notice certain peculiarly Pauline words, *e.g.* *ἀδόκιμος*, vi. 8, and elsewhere only in Rom. i. 28, 1 Cor. ix. 27, 2 Cor. xiii. 5, 6, 7, 2 Tim. iii. 8, and Titus i. 16—it only occurs twice in LXX. ; *ἀπείθεια*, iv. 6, 11, and Rom. xi. 30, 32, Eph. ii. 2, v. 6, and three times in 4 *Maccabees* ; *βέβαιος* and its derivatives, which occur eighteen times in N.T., *viz.* seven times in this Epistle, eight in the rest of St. Paul, once in *Mark*, twice in 2 *Peter*—it is instructive to compare the use of the verb in conjunction with "an oath" in 3 Macc. v. 42 ; the noun *βεβαίωσις* occurs in Wisdom vi. 19 ; *διαφορώτερον*, i. 4, and Rom. xii. 6 ; *ἐπισυναγωγή*, x. 25, 2 Thess. ii. 2, and in the LXX. only in 2 Macc. ii. 7 ; *ἐνάρεστος*, xii. 28, xiii. 21, Rom. xii. 1, 2, xiv. 18, 2 Cor. v. 9, Eph. v. 10, Col. iii. 20, Titus ii. 9, and in the LXX. only in Wisdom iv. 10, ix. 10 ; *ἐφάπαξ*, vii. 27, ix. 12, x. 10, and Rom. vi. 10, 1 Cor. xv. 6 ; *καταργεῖν*, ii. 14, the most characteristic of all St. Paul's favourite terms—it occurs twenty-five times in his Epistles, in Luke xiii. 7, and three times in 2 *Esdras* ; *λογίζομαι*, xi. 19, another typically Pauline word, out of forty occurrences in N.T. thirty-four are to be found here and in the rest of St. Paul's Epistles ; *συγκληρονόμος*, xi. 9,

also Rom. viii. 17, Eph. iii. 6, and 1 Pet. iii. 7—the verb occurs in Ecclus. xxii. 23; *τέλειος*, though not so exclusively Pauline, is yet characteristic of his Epistles, where it occurs eleven times, and in our present Epistle fourteen times, against twenty-three occurrences in the rest of N.T.; lastly, *ὑπόστασις*, i. 3, iii. 14, xi 1—it only occurs else in N.T. in 2 Cor. ix. 4 and xi. 17, it is frequent in LXX.

Certain Lukan words, too, should be noted, *e.g.* *εὐλαβέομαι*, xi. 7, Acts xxiii. 10; *ἱλάσκεσθαι*, ii. 17, Luke xviii. 13; *παροξυσμός*, x. 24, and Acts xv. 39. It will be of interest, too, to note the words which are practically confined to *Hebrews* and the *Pastoral Epistles*, *e.g.* *ἀπόλαυσις*, xi. 25, 1 Tim. vi. 17; *ἀφιλάργυρος*, xiii. 5, 1 Tim. iii. 3; *κοσμικός*, ix. 1, Titus ii. 12; *ὀρέγονται*, xi. 16, 1 Tim. iii. 1, vi. 10. There is sometimes, too, an affinity between 1-2 *Peter* and *Hebrews* in vocabulary, *e.g.* *βέβαιος*, 2 Pet. i. 10, 19, see above; *κατασκευάζω*, iii. 4, and five other places in *Hebrews*, also Luke i. 17 and in the quotation from Malachi given in Luke vii. 27, Matt. xi. 10, Mark i. 2, also 1 Pet. iii. 20; *παρεπίδημος*, xi. 13, 1 Pet. i. 1, and ii. 11; *συγκληρονόμος*, xi. 9, Rom. viii. 17, Eph. iii. 6, 1 Pet. iii. 7.

Certain points in the *Latin translation* are deserving of notice; this is more especially the case since our Rheims translation is made almost directly from the Latin, with but cursory attention to the Greek text, at least in many cases. Thus in i. 3 *faciens* should be *quum fecisset*, the neglect of the aorist participle would lead to theological inaccuracy; in ii. 1 we have a singularly happy translation—almost a transliteration—which has been coined by the Latin translator to meet the case, for *perefflluamus* exactly represents *παραῤῥωῶμεν*, but "let them slip" in Challoner, "run out" in Rheims, are hardly satisfactory renderings, "drift away from them," R.V., is good; ii. 8, "pontifex *ad Deum*" misses the force of *τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν*; the insertion of *et* in ii. 18 is misleading; in iii. 4 *κατασκευάζεται* is rendered *fabricavit* and *creavit*, with a weakening of the antithesis intended; v. 2, *μετριοπαθεῖν* is hardly *condolere*, "bear gently," R.V., is better; v. 11 and vi. 12, *νωθροί* would be better rendered by *segnes* in both instances than by *segnes* and *imbecilles*; v. 12, *λογίων* would be rather *oraculorum* than *sermonum*; in vii. 13 we have a curious translation of *ἐφ' ὃν* by *in quo* instead of *de quo*; in vii. 24 *sempiternum* is an unsatisfactory rendering of *ἀπαράβατον*, *immutabile* would be better; in vii. 27, ix. 12, and x. 10, *ἐφάπαξ* is always translated *semel*, which hardly brings out the necessary meaning of "once and for all"; in viii. 11 the present *εἰσιάσιν* is translated by the imperfect *introibant*, which, of course, may be understood as "are wont to enter," the use of the present tense may possibly point to a date previous to the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, for the composition of the Epistle; in ix. 11 the rendering "*assistens* pontifex" is misleading, *παραγενόμενος* means "coming on the scene"; in ix. 12 the impersonal construction *æterna redemptione inventa* for *æternam redemptionem inveniens* is unfortunate, perhaps it is due to the lack of a perfect active participle in Latin; in xi. 25 "quam temporal*is* peccati habere jucunditatem" is inexact, for *temporalis* should agree with *jucunditatem*, so that we should rather read "quam peccati tempora*lem* habere jucunditatem"; in xi. 35 *distenti* is hardly a true rendering of *ἐτυμπανίσθησαν*, for this verb means "to beat a *τύμπανον*,

or drum"—the martyrs, then, were "beaten"—the word only occurs in 1 Sam. xxi. 13, where St. Jerome renders it and the Hebrew equivalent by *impigebat*, which well expresses David's "drumming" with his hands on the door in his feigned madness, the Douay version unfortunately has "he stumbled against the doors"; in xii. 1 *circumstans* is a very weak rendering of εὐπερίστατον, which rather means "so easily surrounds us"; lastly, we may point out a probable mistranslation in xii. 22-23, where "multorum millium Angelorum frequentiam" should rather be "ad multa millia Angelorum, (ad) frequentiam (*i.e.* the assembly), et ad Ecclesiam primitivorum," see the Greek text.

G. The Theological Teaching of the Epistle.

God and the Father: He spoke by the Son, i. 1-14, ii. 5-8, v. 5-10; bore witness to the teaching of the Apostles, ii. 3; is the Creator of all, iii. 5; we must not depart from the Living God, iii. 12, *cp.* ix. 14; God's "rest," iv. 3-10; the Word of God, iv. 12, v. 5, xi. 3, xiii. 7; all things are visible to Him, iv. 13; the High Priest was for the things of God, v. 1; it is He Who calls to the priesthood, v. 4, 10; we need faith towards Him, vi. 1; "if God permit," vi. 3; the earth receives a blessing from God, vi. 7; He is not unjust, vi. 10; He swore by Himself, vi. 13-14, 17, *cp.* vii. 10-21; He cannot lie, vi. 18; Melchisedec was priest of the Most High God, vii. 1; we draw nigh to God by hope, vii. 19; and through Christ, vii. 25; He enjoined the Old Covenant, ix. 20; the vengeance of the Living God, x. 31; doing the will of God, x. 36; Abel sacrificed to God, xi. 4; God received his sacrifice, xi. 4; He translated Enoch, who pleased Him, xi. 5; without faith it is impossible to please God, xi. 6; He called Abraham, xi. 8; He is the builder of the eternal city, xi. 10; is faithful to His promises, xi. 11, 40; was not ashamed to be called the God of the patriarchs, xi. 16; Moses chose to be afflicted with the people of God, xi. 25; He afflicteth His chosen, xii. 5-7; we must obey the Father of spirits, xii. 9; without peace and holiness we cannot see God, xii. 14; we must not be wanting to His grace, xii. 15; He is Judge of all, xii. 23, xiii. 4; we please Him by fear and reverence, xii. 28; He is a consuming fire, xii. 29; we must offer Him the sacrifice of praise, xiii. 15; and thus obtain His favour, xiii. 16; the God of peace, xiii. 20.

God the Son: His *divinity*, He is the heir of all things, i. 2; through Him was the world made, i. 2; He is the brightness of the Father's glory, the figure of His substance, i. 3; upholdeth all things by His power, i. 3; is greater than the Angels, i. 4-14; his throne is for ever, i. 8-12; He is the Son of God, i. 2, v. 8, vi. 6, vii. 3, 28, x. 29; as *incarnate*, creation is subject to Him, ii. 5-10; He was perfected by God through His Passion, ii. 10; is the Author of our salvation, ii. 10; is one with us, ii. 11; He is the Son in His own house, iii. 6; He is lower than the Angels, ii. 6-9; He took our nature, ii. 14, 17-18; calls us brethren, ii. 11-13; was tempted, ii. 18, iv. 15; was of the seed of Abraham, ii. 16; of the tribe of Juda, vii. 14; was greater than Moses, iii. 3; His *redemptive work*, His teaching, ii. 3; God hath spoken through

Him, ii. 5-9; He is the High Priest, ii. 17, iii. 1, iv. 14, vi. 19-20, x. 21; to this office He was called, v. 5, 10; He is a priest according to the order of Melchisedec and not according to the Levitical race, v. 6, 10, vi. 20, vii. 15-28; as the great High Priest He is the minister of a better testament than the old dispensation, viii. 6-13; and by a better tabernacle, that of His own flesh, ix. 11; and by His own Blood, ix. 12, x. 5-10, xii. 24, xiii. 20; wherewith He has entered beyond the veil into the Holy of Holies, vi. 19, ix. 12-14, 24, x. 19-20; and is at the right hand of God, i. 3, viii. 1, ix. 2, x. 12, xii. 2; and is crowned with glory, ii. 9; there He offers Himself unspotted to God, ix. 14; and is in the presence of God, ix. 24; this redemption was wrought *by His Cross*, which He endured, xii. 2-3, xiii. 13; its necessity, ii. 14; He suffered without the gate, xiii. 12; through the grace of God was He crucified, ii. 9, v. 9; *His sufferings*, ii. 18; He suffered but once, ix. 28, x. 12-18; His tears and prayers, v. 7; His obedience, v. 8; He was heard for His reverence, v. 7; His faithfulness, ii. 7, iii. 2; He does the will of His Father, x. 5-9; by His Passion He brought many to glory, ii. 10, v. 9, ix. 26, x. 10; and wrought our eternal redemption, v. 9, ix. 12; thus was He the propitiation for our sins, i. 3, ii. 17, ix. 15, 26, x. 17-18; and so delivered us, ii. 15; He overcame the devil, ii. 14; He rose from the dead, xiii. 20; thus He is the Mediator of the New Testament, ix. 15, xii. 24; the Author and Finisher of our faith, xii. 2; the Pastor of the sheep, xiii. 20; His compassion for us, iv. 15; He succours us, ii. 18; we are partakers in Him by faith, iii. 14, iv. 2; He is the cause of our eternal salvation, v. 9; sin crucifies Him again, vi. 6, x. 29; God perfects us through Him, xiii. 21; He is our forerunner, vi. 20; He will come again, ix. 28.[1]

The Holy Spirit: His work in the Apostles, ii. 4; He speaks through the Prophets, iii. 7-11, x. 15-17; teaches figuratively through the old dispensation, ix. 8; Christ offered Himself through the Holy Spirit, ix. 14; we are partakers in the Holy Spirit, vi. 4; by sin we affront the Spirit of grace, x. 29.

Summary of the Doctrine on the High Priesthood of Christ.

Christ's Priesthood.	*The Levitical Priesthood.*
1. Priest and king, vii. 4-7.	Priest only, vii. 23.
2. For ever, vii. 24.	For a time.
3. No lineage, vii. 3.	They descend from one another.
4. By an eternal oath, vii. 20-28.	By a transitory ordinance.
5. All-powerful, vii. 25-28.	Weak.
6. Perfect sacrifice, vii. 27, viii. 1-13.	Ineffectual.
7. Sacrifice once and for all, ix. 12.	Daily.

[1] See *Expository Times*, October, 1917, for the Christology of the Epistle; also *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1917, and *Expositor*, August and December, 1917.

Christ's Priesthood.	*The Levitical Priesthood.*
8. Cleansed the conscience, ix. 14.	Only cleansed from ceremonial defilement.
9. His tabernacle, *i.e.* His flesh, was the archetype, viii. 3.	Their tabernacle but a type.
10. His ministry was of the substance, viii. 5.	Theirs was but the shadow.
11. He sits at the right hand of the Father, iv. 14, etc.	They died and passed away.
12. His covenant is to endure, viii. 6-13.	Theirs is abrogated.
13. He entered but once "beyond the veil," x. 12, 19-20.	They once a year.
14. He entered with His own Blood, ix. 14.	They with that of goats, etc.
15. He entered into heaven, ix. 24.	They into the earthly tabernacle.
16. He was a minister for all, v. 9, vii. 25.	They for the Jews only.

The doctrine laid down in vi. 4-8, *cp.* x. 26-32, proved a stumbling-block to many in early days. The words seem to imply the impossibility of restoration to grace after post-baptismal sin; Tertullian[1] so understands them. But Clement of Alexandria[2] rightly interprets them: "He who has sinned" after having embraced the faith "ought, even though he obtain pardon, to fear, as one who is no longer washed unto the forgiveness of sins." That this is the correct interpretation appears from a study of the Greek text, where the participles imply *persistence* in a state of sin. The heresy of the Novatians consisted in a denial of the possibility of repentance after sin.[3] We have no hint of this in the extant writings of Novatian himself, though we can detect a trace of it perhaps in the letter of the Roman clergy to St. Cyprian,[4] a letter which, as St. Cyprian tells us,[5] was written by Novatian himself. St. Philastrius, who was Bishop of Brescia in the latter part of the fourth century, says:

"There are some who deny that the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews is his; they maintain that it is the work of either Barnabas the Apostle or of Clement, Bishop of Rome. And since they do not

[1] *De Pudicitia*, XX, and *supra*, p. 261, note 2.
[2] *Strom.* II. 13; *cp.* St. Augustine, *Inchoata Expositio in Ep. ad Romanos*, 19, *P.L.* XXXV. 2102.
[3] St. Philastrius, *Hær.* LIV.
[4] *Ep.* XXX. 3, *inter Epp. S. Cypriani.*
[5] *Ep.* LI. 5.

understand certain things which are in it, it is therefore not read in the Church, or if read by some, yet they only read in the Church to the people the thirteen Epistles of the Apostle and sometimes the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. And since in this Epistle he writes in rhetorical fashion and in flowing speech, they therefore fancy it is not by him. And because in it he says that Christ was made, they therefore do not read it. And because of its teaching on penance, they likewise do not read it, because of the Novatians."

He then proceeds to explain the doctrine of penance as set forth in the Epistle.[1]

H. Bibliography.

St. Chrysostom's commentary is, of course, of immense value. Cardinal Cajetan, *Litteralis Expositio*, Rome, 1529. In the *Cambridge Greek Testament*, Farrar, 1893; Nairn, 1920. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews;* Wickham in the *Westminster Commentary*, 1910.

In *R.B.* many papers: October, 1895, January, 1902, January and April, 1907. In the *Expositor* for 1917 a series of papers; April, 1913, *The Literary Riddle of the Epistle to the Hebrews; Expository Times*, January, 1917, *An Introduction to the Epistle.* Clement's authorship is upheld by Rendel Harris, *Expository Times*, June, 1909; Barnabas' authorship in *R.B.*, 1899, p. 278. For the Christology, see *R.B.*, January, 1919; a review of Windisch, *Expositor*, August and December, 1917, and January, 1921; *Expository Times*, October, 1917, and September, 1919. The Pauline authorship of the Epistle was warmly defended in 1838 by Charles Forster in a too little known book; "his arguments in vindication of the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews modern Biblical writers have found it easier to pass by than to refute," *Scrivener-Miller*, II., p. 401, note.

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[1] *Hær.* LXXXIX., *cf. R.B.* 1895, October, p. 640; see also Origen, *Tom. XX.* 12 *in Joan.*, *P.G.* XIV. 599, and *Tom. XXVIII.* 13 *in Joan.*, *P.G.* XIV. 714; Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*, p. 278, note.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES

In St. Jerome's Vulgate, as edited by Vallarsi and Martiannay,[1] we have a *Prologue* prefixed to the *Seven Catholic Epistles* which runs as follows:

"The Greeks, who are entirely wise and follow the sound faith, have not the same order among the seven Epistles which are termed 'canonical,' as we find in the Latin manuscripts, where, for example, since Peter is the first in the number of the Apostles, his Epistles too are placed in the series before the others. Since, however, we have recently corrected the Evangelists in accord with truth, so too by God's help have we set these Epistles in their proper order. The first of the series is the single Epistle of James, then the two of Peter, next John's three, and last the one of Jude. Now these Epistles ought to be as faithfully translated into the Latin tongue as they were faithfully written by these men. They ought not to provoke ambiguous questionings in the readers' minds, nor should their different ways of expressing themselves seem mutually conflicting. More especially is this the case in that passage where we find the unity of the Trinity laid down in the *First Epistle of St. John.* In this Epistle we discover many departures from the truth by faithless translators. They set down, for instance, only the words expressive of the triad of water, blood, and spirit in their copies, while they omit the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. Yet by this testimony is the Catholic faith most particularly confirmed and the oneness of the divine nature of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit proved."

Most critics reject this *Prologue* as spurious,[2] though there are still some who uphold it.[3] The question of its authenticity does not, however, concern us here. For us the *Prologue* is of interest for the term "canonical" applied to these Epistles instead of the more usual term "Catholic," also for the relative order of the Epistles. It is remarkable that, whereas the Council of Trent in its decree on the

[1] *P.L.* XXIX. 821.

[2] See Chapman, *Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, pp. 262-267.

[3] *E.g.* Charteris, *Canonicity*, where it is quoted without any reservation; so, too, Salmond in *H.D.B.*, *The Catholic Epistles*, pp. 359 and 360.

Scriptures[1] gives the order of these Epistles as *Peter*, *John*, *James*, and *Jude*, yet the Vulgate order has always been that which this *prologue* upholds, *viz.* *James*, *Peter*, *John*, and *Jude*.[2] The title "canonical" instead of "Catholic" is of great interest. Apparently it is never used in the Eastern Church, and, as far as we can discover, is never elsewhere used by St. Jerome, who always uses the term "Catholic."[3] This might be an argument against the authenticity of the *Prologue* just given. Writers of the next century, however, use it, *e.g.* Junilius and Cassiodorus; the latter says that Clement of Alexandria commented "in Epistolis canonicis," and he adds *First* and *Second Peter* and *James*.[4] The Greek Fathers use invariably the term "Catholic" for these Epistles. Thus Eusebius:[5] "James is said to be the author of the first of the so-called Catholic Epistles," and he refers in the same context to "the Catholic Epistle of Jude." But they do not confine their use of this term "Catholic" to these Epistles; Eusebius, for instance, uses it when speaking of the letters of Dionysius of Corinth, which were addressed, some to the Lacedæmonians, others to the Athenians, the Nicomedians, the Cretans, the Church at Amastris, the Gnosians, the Romans, and—most instructive of all—"to Chrysophora, a most faithful sister."[6] St. Cyril of Jerusalem[7] and Clement of Alexandria[8] both speak of the Decrees of the Council of Jerusalem, Acts xv., as "a Catholic Epistle,' while Origen uses the same term when speaking of the *Epistle of Barnabas*.[9] These facts are instructive, for they show in what sense these Epistles were called "Catholic":

[1] Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, No. 784. The Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, has the same order; the same, too, holds good for the place assigned to these Epistles between *St. Paul* and the *Apocalypse;* the majority of MSS. have them between the *Acts* and *St. Paul*.

[2] This order is that of *Vaticanus*, B.

[3] *E.g. Viris Illustr.* i, ii, iii, iv, and on Isa. lxv. 8 and Jer. i. 13, *P.L.* XXIV. 636 and 685. See, too, *Ep.* LIV. 8, *P.L.* XXII. 548, where he says: "James, Peter, John, and Jude"—note the order, the same as that in the disputed *Prologue*—"have published seven Epistles as mystical as they are compact, as brief, too, as they are lengthy; for they are brief in words, profound in meaning, so that it not seldom happens that we are short-sighted as we read them."

[4] *De Instit.* viii. [5] *H.E.* II. xxiii. 5.

[6] *H.E.* IV. xxiii.; *cp.* VI. xiii. and VII. xxv.

[7] *Catech.* IV. 28. [8] *Strom.* IV. 15. [9] *Contra Celsum*, I. 63.

they were encyclicals, addressed, that is, not to individual Churches alone, but—as was perhaps the case with St. Paul's *Epistle to the Ephesians*—intended to be read by many Churches while nominally addressed to one. We particularly referred to Dionysius' letter to Chrysophora because it serves as an excellent illustration of how a letter addressed to an individual, like 2-3 *John*, could yet be regarded as "Catholic."

Bibliography.

Besides the general commentaries and introductions see Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, the Introduction; also Drach et Bayle, *Les Épîtres Catholiques*, Lethielleux, Paris, 1873. For the Old-Latin text see *J.T.S.*, July, 1911.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES

A. The Identity of the Author.
B. Analysis of the Epistle.
C. Its Occasion and Date.
D. Vocabulary of the Epistle.

(*a*) The Relationship between this Epistle and the *Sermon on the Mount.*
(*b*) The Relationship between this Epistle and *Ecclesiasticus.*
(*c*) The Relationship between this Epistle and 1 *Peter.*
(*d*) The Relationship between this Epistle and St. Paul's Doctrine of *Faith and Works.*

E. The Canonicity and Authenticity of the Epistle.
F. Its Theological Teaching.
G. Bibliography.

A. The Author of the Epistle.

This Epistle, the first of the "Catholic" Epistles, is addressed by "James, the servant of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes that are dispersed abroad." He nowhere states that he is "James, the Lord's brother," nor that he is the Bishop of Jerusalem, nor that he is one of the Apostles. But with the exception of the printed Peshitta Syriac version, which states that the three Epistles, *James*, 1 *Peter*, and 1 *John*, were written by the three witnesses of the Transfiguration, and an Old-Latin MS. of the ninth century, which attributes this Epistle to James, the son of Zebedee, it may be said that unanimous tradition refers it to the other James, known as "the Less,"[1] and as

[1] Mark xv. 40.

"the brother of the Lord,"[1] and who was the first Bishop of Jerusalem.[2] The only doubt is whether this James was one of the Apostles,[3] but James, the "Lord's brother," is clearly included among the Apostles by St. Paul, and patristic tradition from the time of Origen onwards identifies the writer of the Epistle with "James the Apostle."[4] That the author was not the "brother of John" or the son of Zebedee is certain from the early death of the latter.[5]

Assuming the identity of the writer of this Epistle with "the Lord's brother," the Apostle, and the Bishop of Jerusalem, we realize that the Epistle in question is the authoritative work of one who ranks after SS. Peter, John, and Paul in the history of the early Church. As Bishop of Jerusalem we find him presiding at the first Council[6] and actually formulating the decrees of that Council; it is to him—with Peter and John—that St. Paul goes "to confer with them

[1] Gal. i. 19. Eusebius always refers to this James as "the so-called" brother of the Lord, *H.E.* I. xii. 4; III. vii. 9; IV. v. 3; VII. xix.; *cp.* St. Jerome on Gal. i. 19, *P.L.* XXVI. 330, and Origen, "Jacobus Apostolus dicit," quoting Jas. i. 17, *Lib.* IX. 24 *in Ep. ad Rom.*, and again, "Jacobum fratrem Domini," *ib.* IV. 8; *cp. Contra Celsum*, I. 47.

[2] This follows from the foregoing; for if the writer of the Epistle is "James the Lord's brother," then he is the same James who, though never termed "Bishop of Jerusalem" in N.T., yet exercises functions which are only compatible with superiority, *e.g.* Acts xii. 17, xv., xxi., and Gal. i. 19. That he was appointed to the Bishopric of Jerusalem by Christ Himself is affirmed in the *Clementine Recognitions*, I. 43, also in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII. 35, and is repeated by St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* XXXVIII. on 1 Cor., *ed.* Gaume, X. 414.

[3] See above, note 1, and on "The Brethren of the Lord," below.

[4] See above, note 1. It is true that in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, II. 55, and VI. 12, as well, perhaps, in *H.E.* I. xii., it seems to be implied that James was not a member of the apostolic body, yet over against this we have the positive statement of Gal. i. 19.

[5] Note how careful St. Luke is to distinguish the two "James." When he tells us of the martyrdom of the son of Zebedee, Acts xii. 1, he describes him as "the brother of John," so that it is impossible to make any mistake about his identity. But throughout the rest of *Acts* he simply speaks of "James" without any appellative, since the other James was already dead; *cf.* Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18, and *cp.* Gal. i. 19, ii. 9, 12. In much the same way the author of the Fourth Gospel simply speaks of "John" throughout, the reason being that he himself was the only other John, and his readers knew this (see vol. ii., p. 283.

[6] Acts xv.

about the Gospel";[1] he is one of the three whom the same Apostle terms "pillars" of the Church;[2] he was a privileged witness of the risen Lord.[3]

Two lengthy accounts of St. James' martyrdom are preserved for us in Eusebius, one by Clement of Alexandria from his lost *Hypotyposes*,[4] the other by Hegesippus. For persisting in maintaining the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth James was cast down from the Temple wall and stoned to death; Hegesippus says that a fuller came and completed the murder by striking him on the head. James was known even to the Jews as "James the Just" for the sanctity of his life. Apropos of this martyrdom, Eusebius has preserved for us a statement by Josephus which does not appear in his works as we now have them: "These things," he says, "happened to the Jews to avenge James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus that is called the Christ. For the Jews slew Him, although He was a most just man."[5] The same passage is preserved for us by Origen in three places.[6] It ought to fit in in Josephus' *Antiquities*, XX. ix. 1.

These details in the life of the author of this Epistle are of interest, since they show us something of what St. James really was. He was an Apostle and died for the faith. But at the same time he was held in the deepest reverence by the Jews, despite his adherence to Christianity. Hence *a priori* we should expect to find in his Epistle something very different from what we find in the Epistles of St. Paul. And so fully are these expectations confirmed that some have even doubted whether the Epistle was a Christian document at all! This is of course absurd, such passages as i. 1, ii. 1, v. 6, 8, 15 are sufficient to prove it. Still, save for those passages and for the teaching on faith and works, it might be urged that any Hebrew could have written the Epistle, which is in fact addressed to "the twelve tribes of the dispersion."

St. Jerome's account of St. James may be given in full:

"James, who is termed 'the brother of the Lord' (Gal. i. 19), who bore the title of 'the Just,' and who, according to some, was the son

[1] Gal. ii. 2. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 9. [3] 1 Cor. xv. 7.
[4] *H.E.* II. i. 1-4. [5] *H.E.* II. xxiii. 1-25.
[6] *Contra Celsum*, I. 47, II. 13, and *Tom.* X. 17 *in Matt.*

of Joseph by another wife, but, in my opinion, the son of Mary, the sister of the Mother of the Lord (John xix. 25), as John says in his Gospel (xix. 25), was, immediately after the Passion of the Lord, ordained by the Apostles Bishop of Jerusalem. He only wrote one Epistle—one of the seven Catholic Epistles ; some, indeed, maintain that this Epistle was really written by someone else in St. James' name, though in the course of time it gradually won acceptance as St. James'. Hegesippus, who lived not long after the apostolic age, says, when speaking of James in the fifth book of his *Commentaries :* 'James, the Lord's brother, and known by the title of 'the Just,' held the See of Jerusalem after the Apostles. There were many of the name of James. But this James was holy from his mother's womb, drank no wine nor strong drink, never ate meat, never allowed his hair to be cut, never was anointed with oil, nor ever made use of the bath. He alone was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies, since, indeed, he wore no wool, but only linen ; alone he was wont to enter the Temple, and there on his knees pray for the people, so that it is believed that his knees became hard as those of a camel.' Hegesippus also narrates many other things which it would take too long to relate. But Josephus (*Ant.* XX. vii. 1), as also Clement in the seventh book of his *Outlines*, tells us that on the death of Festus, the Governor of Judea, Nero sent Albinus as his successor, and that before he could reach his province Ananus, the High Priest, a young man and the son of Ananus of the priestly caste, took occasion of the headless state of the province and summoned a council, in which he attempted publicly to compel James to deny that Christ was the Son of God, and on his refusal ordered him to be stoned. He was thrown from the pinnacle of the Temple and his legs were broken in his fall, but though half dead he lifted up his hands to heaven, saying : '*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do !*' But a fuller came and struck him on the head with the club he used to beat clothes with, and so he died. Josephus further tells us that so great was his reputation for sanctity amongst the populace that the destruction of Jerusalem was generally attributed to the murder of James. (No trace of this statement can be found in Josephus, though Origen thrice attributes it to him.)

"It is of this same James that Paul the Apostle writes to the Galatians : *Other of the Apostles I saw none, saving James the brother of the Lord* (Gal. i. 19). The *Acts of the Apostles*, too, often refer to him (i. 13, xv. 13, xxi. 18). Moreover, the Gospel *according to the Hebrews*, as it is called—and which I have recently translated into Greek and Latin, and which Origen often makes use of—tells us that our Saviour, after His resurrection, 'gave His winding-sheet to the High Priest's servant, and then went and appeared to James. For James had taken an oath that he would not eat bread from the hour when he drank the Lord's chalice till he saw Him rising from them that sleep.' And a little later : 'Bring me,' said the Lord, 'a table and bread.' And He took bread and blessed and broke and gave it to James the Just, saying : 'My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from among them that sleep.'

"Thirty years, then, did James govern the Church at Jerusalem, and he was buried nigh to the Temple whence he was thrown down. His

tomb was well known until the siege by Titus, and even till the second siege by Hadrian; some, indeed, fancy he was buried on Mount Olivet, but this notion is false."[1]

B. Analysis of the Epistle.

The key-note to the whole Epistle lies in the distinction between rich and poor; the consequent arrogance of the former and sufferings of the latter. St. James therefore points out that our faith must needs be tried, and, in consequence, he speaks of temptation. But temptation can only successfully be resisted by prayer. These three thoughts, then—the relative positions of the rich and the poor, the need of such "proving" of our faith, and the need of prayer that we may come successfully through the ordeal—run through the Epistle.

A. i. 1. *The introduction: James, the servant of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes that are scattered abroad.*

B. i. 2-4. *The theme:* temptation is all gain, for *the trying of our faith worketh patience, and patience hath a perfect work.*

C. i. 5-27. *On temptation and the perfect work it produces.*

(*a*) i. 5-8. The *trying of our faith* demands prayer, but we must *ask in faith, nothing wavering . . . for a double-minded man is inconstant in all his ways.*

(*b*) i. 9-11. Likewise it demands contentment with our lot in life, and especially with our Christian lot. Thus the poor must rejoice that as a Christian he is exalted, the rich that as a Christian he is humbled.

(*c*) i. 12-18. And temptation is a blessing; it does not come from God, for from Him comes only *every best and perfect gift.*

(*d*) i. 19-27. Hence we must lay aside anger and take on patience; we must be doers of the word and not hearers only; of *the perfect law of liberty;* of true *religion clean and undefiled,* which demands that we bridle our tongue and visit the fatherless and the widows.

D. ii. 1-26. *Of the royal law according to the Scriptures: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*

(*a*) ii. 1-13. Respect of persons, whereby we consider the rich rather than the poor, is a contradiction to this law which has to be observed in its entirety; and by this *law of liberty* we are *to be judged.*

(*b*) ii. 14-26 Similarly, faith without works is a denial of the law, and those works are the works of mercy by which we clothe the naked and give food to the hungry. The examples of Abraham and Rahab; *faith without works is dead.*

E. iii. 1-iv. 17. *The desire of pre-eminence is fatal.*

(*a*) iii. 1-12. It leads to sins of the tongue, and *the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity . . . the tongue no man can tame, an unquiet evil, full of deadly poison.*

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[1] *De Viris Illustr.* III, *P.L.* XXIII. 609.

(*b*) iii. 13-18. But true wisdom consists in meekness and in peace.
(*c*) iv. 1-7. The same desire of pre-eminence leads to contentions and renders our prayers fruitless; it is founded in that love of this world which makes us enemies of God; the true Christian, on the contrary, must not be *double-minded: draw nigh to God and He will draw nigh to you.* Hence we must lay aside all detraction and criticism, for our *life is a vapour which appeareth for a little while and afterwards shall vanish away.*

F. v. 1-20. *The contrast between the rich unconverted Jews and the Christian brethren.*

(*a*) v. 1-6. A vehement condemnation of those rich Jews who oppress the poor and who *condemned and put to death the Just One Who resisted not; the cry of* those whom they have oppressed *hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.*
(*b*) v. 7-20. The Christian brethren, on the contrary, are exhorte to be *patient until the coming of the Lord;* they are to remember the *patience of the Prophets who spake in the name of the Lord,* especially that of Job. They are to avoid swearing; if sad, let them pray; if cheerful, let them sing; if sick, let them call *in the priests of the Church and let them pray over him, anointing him in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick man . . . and if he be in sins they shall be forgiven;* they are to *confess their sins one to another,* and are to pray much; they have an example of the efficacy of prayer in the case of Elias. Lastly, *he who causeth a sinner to be converted from the error of his way shall save his soul from death.*

C. The Occasion of the Epistle and its Probable Date.

St. James addresses himself to the "twelve tribes that are dispersed abroad," i. 1. Beyond this there is no reference to any particular district or place. It is otherwise with Peter, who addresses his first Epistle to the "dispersed throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." At first sight it might seem as though these addresses should be the other way round, as though, that is, the Primate ought to address the entire world and the local Bishop of Jerusalem confine himself to a particular district. Yet reflection will show us that St. Peter would naturally address himself to those amongst whom he had preached, while St. James—whose peculiar flock was the Jerusalem Church—would, as an Apostle, be justified in writing to

the Church at large. At the same time it is not easy to see on what grounds he would thus feel impelled to write.[1]

The *Analysis* just given will show that complaints have apparently reached him touching the difficulties in the way of leading a Christian life, the overbearing character of some of those who were better endowed with this world's goods, the cowardliness of others who tried to serve God and Mammon and were only half-hearted Christians, and the contentions which marred their peace. Thus St. James treats of the folly of being "double-minded," i. 6-11; he urges them to be doers of the word and not hearers merely, i. 22-27; he inveighs against the rich who oppress the poorer brethren, ii. 1-13, v. 1-5; he insists on the necessity of good works, ii. 14-26, for some have apparently taken too generous a view of the "perfect law of liberty," and are claiming that faith without works is all that is required; he rebukes their spirit of dissension, iii. 1-iv. 2; he demands persevering prayer, iv. 2-10; and also their tendency to arrogant criticism, iv. 11-17; and finally exhorts them to that patience which rests upon faith, v. 6-17.

Further, the Epistle is clearly addressed to Jews who were converts to Christianity; to none save people of Jewish stock could he speak so naturally of Abraham, ii. 21, of Rahab, ii. 25, of the Prophets, of Job and Elias, v. 10-17. To none but Jews who had become Christians could he say: "You slew the Just One . . . ," v. 6. Moreover, in all this

[1] "It is not altogether certain," says Cardinal Cajetan in his *Commentary*, "whether this Epistle is by James, the Lord's brother, or not. . . . It is suggested that it was written by someone else under the name of this James, and that in course of time it thus became authoritative. The opening salutation is so bald as to be without parallel in other apostolic letters. There is not a word about God nor about Jesus Christ, not a word about grace or peace; simply 'salutation,' after the manner of a profane writing. Moreover, it is addressed to the twelve tribes dispersed; for of every tribe some members were thus dispersed throughout the world. Consequently, it ought rather to be called a book than a letter, since it was not written to be delivered to the twelve tribes dispersed—for that would have been impossible; it is meant to instruct them." This is a good example of Cajetan's boldness of view. There is no authority whatever for saying that this Epistle was written in the name of James by someone else; neither is there any need to do so.

there is no hint of a persecution which is vexing their souls, though such a persecution is commonly taken for granted. The "temptations" to which he refers in chap. i. may perfectly well be simply those which are incident to the effort to practise Christianity under disadvantageous circumstances. Now, was any one of the Apostles in a better situation than St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, to learn all this? Was any Apostle better fitted to cope with the situation than he? St. Luke's account of the first Pentecost shows us how Jews flocked to Jerusalem, and, incidentally, affords us a hint of the way in which Christianity was spread throughout "the dispersion." It was these same Jews, "devout men of every nation under heaven," who came to Jerusalem for the Passover, even when they had embraced Christianity. They would find in James the Just a ready sympathizer they would know him as one of whom Hegesippus narrates that "he was in the habit of entering alone into the Temple, and was frequently found upon his knees begging forgiveness for the people."[1]

The Probable Date at which the Epistle was written.—Josephus,[2] Hegesippus,[3] and Eusebius himself[4] enable us to assign the date of the death of St. James to A.D. 62. For Josephus tells us that this judicial murder was only possible owing to the fact that Festus the Governor was just dead, and his successor Albinus was only on his way to Palestine.[5] Hegesippus, as preserved in Eusebius, adds that James was martyred at the Passover. He concludes his account, however, by saying that "*immediately* Vespasian besieged them." This would seem to refer James' death to A.D. 69. In the same way Eusebius himself opens his account of the succession of Simeon to the Bishopric of Jerusalem by saying: "After the martyrdom of James and the conquest of Jerusalem which *immediately* followed. . . ." This seems to show that Eusebius himself held that James died just previous to A.D. 70. And this seems further confirmed by the extract from Josephus which Eusebius[6] and Origen[7] have

[1] *H.E.* II. xxiii. 6.
[2] *Ant.* XX. ix.
[3] *H.E., l.c.*
[4] *H.E., l.c.* and III. xi. 1.
[5] For the date of Albinus' succession *cf. Wars*, VI. v. 3.
[6] *H.E.* II. xxiii. 20.
[7] *Contra Celsum*, I. 47; II. 13; *Tom.* X. 17 *in Matt.*

preserved for us, and in which the destruction of Jerusalem is stated to have been a direct punishment for the murder of St. James, and therefore immediately followed upon it. The difficulty in the way of accepting this late date, however, is that Eusebius himself in his *Chronicle* refers the death of James to the seventh year of Nero,[1] as also does St. Jerome.[2] Nero's first year ran from September, 55; consequently his seventh year will be from September, 61-62, and as James died at the Passover he will have met his death in the spring of A.D. 62. As for the use of the word "immediately" by Hegesippus and Eusebius, it must be remarked that it can only be used in a wide sense, since Vespasian had nothing to do with the siege, which was begun and finished by Titus; it must then refer to the opening of the war. Further, it is possible that the passage from Josephus, which now no longer occurs in his works, but which Eusebius himself and Origen have preserved, explains the difficulty. For the idea that the fall of Jerusalem was due to the death of James would inevitably tend to make people associate the two events chronologically as well as causally.

If, then, James died in A.D. 62, his Epistle will probably not date later than A.D. 61. So much for the *terminus ad quem*. Can we find a *terminus a quo?* It seems hardly probable that it was written previous to St. Paul's arrest in Jerusalem, Acts xxi., or the Pentecost of A.D. 57. Thus we can assign St. James' Epistle to the period between A.D. 57 and 61.

D. The Vocabulary of the Epistle.

The vocabulary of the Epistle presents certain points of interest.

In the first place, there are certain unusual words, *e.g.* ἀκατάσχετον, iii. 8; ἀλαζονεία, iv. 16, *cp.* 1 John ii. 16, "superbia vitæ," or, better, "false pretensions"; ἀποκυέω, i. 15, 18; δελεαζόμενος, i. 14, of interest

[1] *P.G.* XIX. 543.

[2] *Interpretatio Chron. Eusebii*, *P.L.* XXVII. 586. St. Jerome calls this the eighth year of Nero; all depends on how he calculated the regnal years.

from its occurrence in 2 Pet. ii. 14, 18; the late form *ἐπιλησμονῆς*, i. 25; *εὐπρέπεια*, i. 11, denoting a certain "stateliness" or "majesty"; also the late word *ῥυπαρία*, i. 21 and ii. 2, *cp.* Apoc. xxii. 11. We may note, too, such words as *κατίωται*, v. 3, which seems like a reminiscence of Ecclus. xii. 11, and *σητόβρωτα*, v. 2, also a reminiscence of the LXX of Job xiii. 28. In iii. 7 we have a curious mistake in the Vulgate, which has apparently mistaken *ἐναλίων*, "marinis" or "cetis" for *ἐν ἀλλῶν*, though how this preposition could be constructed with a genitive must remain a mystery. At any rate, all existing MSS. of the Vulgate read here "ceterorum" instead of what must have originally been "cetorum."[1] The most interesting word, however, in this Epistle is *δίψυχος*, i. 8, iv. 8. It occurs nowhere else in the Bible, but it at once took its place in theological literature, as is evident from its use by St. Clement[2] and by Hermas.[3] Two other words also call for comment—*ἀδιακρίτος*, iii. 17, and *ἀπειραστός*, i. 13; the Vulgate renders these by "non judicans" and "intentator" respectively; yet they are passive adjectives, the former meaning, rather, "undecided" and the latter "incapable of being tempted." The Vulgate text is peculiar in places; thus in i. 6 no translation is given of *ῥιπιζομένῳ*; in i. 4 *ἐχέτω* is rendered by "habet" instead of "habeat"; in iii. 1, *λημψόμεθα* by "sumitis" for "sumimus"; in iii. 11 "aquam" is added; in iv. 4 no translation is given of *καὶ μοιχαλίδες*; in v. 3 "vobis iram" is not represented in the Greek; v. 4, "their cry" should be "the cry of them that reap"; in v. 10 the words "exitus mali" find no place in the Greek. Conjunctions, too, and prepositions are freely inserted in the Latin text, and not always happily—i. 7, 16, 19, 25, 27; ii. 13; iii. 1, 6, 12; iv. 4; v. 8. Note especially the awkward "vos scitis" in i. 19; it is absent from the Greek text.

(*a*) The resemblances between the *Epistle of St. James* and the Gospel teaching are striking; it is hard to resist the impression that the *Sermon on the Mount*, as indeed all the teaching he had heard from the Master's lips during the three years, is ringing in St. James' ears as he writes. The accompanying table will serve to draw attention to some of the principal parallel passages; in studying them it should be remembered that their effect is cumulative; no one instance will prove the dependence of the Epistle upon the Gospel. Moreover, it is a resemblance due to familiarity with the spoken rather than with the written word, and that word was spoken in Aramaic; the resemblance, then, is rather one of thought and idea than of their expression.

[1] Thus Cajetan, *in loco*, says "cæterorum, pro *marinorum*."
[2] 1 *Clem.* xi, xxiii.
[3] *Pastor*, *Vis.* I. 1, III. 4, *cp.* II. 2; *Simil.* VIII. 8, 9, 10, 11.

St. James.		*The Gospel Teaching.*
i. 1	=	Matt. xix. 28.
i. 4	=	Luke xxi. 29.
i. 5	=	Matt. vii. 7, 11.
i. 6	=	,, xxi. 21.
i. 11*[1]	=	,, xiii. 6*b*, Luke xii. 55.
i. 14*	=	,, xv. 19.
i. 21	=	Luke viii. 11.
i. 23	=	Matt. vii. 21, 26.
i. 25	=	,, vii. 24.
i. 27	=	,, xxv. 36.
ii. 3	=	,, xxiii. 6 and parallels.
ii. 8	=	,, xxii. 37 and parallels.
ii. 10	=	,, v. 19.
ii. 13	=	,, v. 9, vii. 2.
ii. 14	=	,, vii. 21.
ii. 18	=	,, vii. 20.
ii. 19	=	Mark i. 34.
iii. 1*	=	Matt. xxiii. 8.
iii. 6	=	,, xv. 11, v. 37 (?).
iii. 12	=	,, vii. 16.
iii. 18	=	,, v. 9.
iv. 3	=	,, vii. 7.
iv. 4	=	,, xii. 39.
iv. 9	=	,, v. 4.
iv. 10	=	,, xviii. 4, xxiii. 12.
iv. 11	=	,, vii. 1.
iv. 13	=	Luke iii. 12-16 (?).
iv. 16	=	,, xii. 47.
v. 1-3	=	Matt. vi. 19.
v. 7*	=	Mark iv. 27.
v. 12*	=	,, v. 34-37, xxiii. 16.
v. 14	=	,, vi. 13.
v. 15	=	,, xvi. 18.
v. 17*	=	Luke iv. 25.

(*b*) St. James, like St. Paul, could have described himself as "a Hebrew of the Hebrews," yet he must have been in intimate touch with the Greek thought of his day. Hence we are not surprised to find him deeply imbued with the Hellenic books *Ecclesiasticus* and *Wisdom*. For his acquaintance with the latter it will be sufficient to point out his treatment of "divine wisdom," *e.g.* i. 5 and iii. 13-18, and compare this with such passages as Wisd. vi. 9-21 and vii. 25-26. St. James can hardly be said to "quote" the *Book of Wisdom*—he simply betrays acquaintance with it; but

[1] The * denotes the more striking parallels.

this can hardly be said of the use he makes of *Ecclesiasticus*, for he seems to quote literally. Thus compare :

St. James.	*Ecclesiasticus.*
i. 5	xviii. 18, xx. 15, xli. 22 (28 in Vulgate)
i. 6-8	i. 28, ii. 12 ; *cp.* v. 9, vii. 10.
i. 2-4	ii. 1 ; *cp.* i. 23.
i. 13-15	xv. 11-20.
i. 19	v. 11 ; *cp.* iv. 29.
i. 23	xii. 11 ; *cp.* Wisd. vii. 26.
v. 5	xxvii. 13.
v. 14	xxviii. 9-15.

And less closely, though with a distinct reminiscence of the words of *Ecclesiasticus :*

St. James.	*Ecclesiasticus.*
i. 9	iii. 18.
iv. 6	x. 7.
ii. 1-6	x. 19-24 ; *cp.* xiii. 9.
iii. 2	xix. 16.
iii. 5	xxviii. 10 (12 Vulgate).
iii. 13-17	xix. 18-22.
i. 12	xv. 6 ; *cp.* i. 18.
v. 2-3	xxix. 10 ; *cp.* xii. 10 11.

(*c*) *The relation subsisting between this Epistle and* 1 *Peter* is of considerable importance as affecting the respective dates at which the two Epistles were written. That there is a certain dependence of one upon the other seems to follow from a study of the following passages :

James.	1 *Peter.*
(*a*) i. 2	i. 6-7.
(*b*) i. 9-10	i. 24.
(*c*) iv. 6-10	v. 5-9.
(*d*) v. 20	iv. 8.

In (*a*) the two Apostles are saying the same things about the value of temptation, and practically in the same words. In (*b*) St. Peter is quoting Isa. xl. 6; St. James is using the phraseology of that passage. In (*c*) "God resisteth the proud . . ." St. Peter seems almost to be quoting a proverbial expression, but it does not occur in the Old Testament.[1] The same must be said of (*d*) "charity covereth a multitude of sins"; as the expression stands it is hardly a

[1] Yet see Prov. iii. 34, where the LXX version has the words, with, however, κύριος for ὁ θεός.

quotation of Prov. x. 12, and St. James seems to be using the phrase as known to him from 1 *Peter*. Four brief passages like the above perhaps hardly afford us sufficient material for judgment, but the impression is given that St. James is dependent on 1 *Peter*. Note, too, the use of the words ἄσπιλον in Jas. i. 27 (*cp.* iii. 6) and in 1 Pet. i. 19 and 2 Pet. iii. 14, and δελεαζόμενος, Jas. i. 14 and in 2 Pet. ii. 14, 18.

Compare, too, i. 2-3, on temptation, with Heb. xii. 11 and 1 Pet. i. 6-7; i. 4, on patience, with Heb. x. 36; ii. 21, on Abraham's sacrifice, with Heb. xi. 17; ii. 25, on Rahab, with Heb. xi. 31; iv. 15, "God willing," with Heb. vi. 3.

(*d*) There is a rooted idea in the minds of many that in some way or other St. James and St. Paul are at variance in their teaching touching faith and works. "We account," says St. Paul, "a man to be justified by faith without the works of the Law," Rom. iii. 28; St. James says, "Faith without works is dead," ii. 20. St. Augustine treats of this point more than once.[1] He seems to imply that St. James insisted on his doctrine of the necessity of works precisely because he had found men misinterpreting St. Paul's words:

"For this very reason," he says, "he (St. James) makes use of the example of Abraham, because, that is, the Apostle had used it to prove that a man could be justified without the works of the Law. For by referring to the good works of Abraham which accompanied his faith James clearly shows that the Apostle did not by the case of Abraham teach that a man could be justified without works in the sense that if he simply believed he had no need to trouble about good works, but merely that no one was to fancy that, through the merits of previously existing good works, he had arrived at the gift of justification which is through faith."

It is easy for St. Augustine to point out that if the view he is combating were sound, then we should have to allow that St. Paul contradicts himself at every turn, since he himself repeatedly urges the necessity of good works, *e.g.* Rom. ii. 13, viii. 13, Gal. v. 6, 19-21, etc. St. Augustine concludes:

"Consequently the teachings of the two Apostles, James and Paul, are not conflicting when one says that a man is justified by faith

[1] *E.g. De Spirituet Littera*, *P.L.* XLIV; *De Fide et Operibus*, *P.L.* XL.

without works, and the other that faith without works is dead, for the former is speaking of those works which precede faith, the latter of those which follow it, as, indeed, St. Paul himself indicates in many places."[1]

It will have been noted that in the above passage St. Augustine seems to take it for granted that St. James wrote his Epistle with full knowledge of St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*. This was in A.D. 388. Writing much later, in 413, he remarks that "even in the days of the Apostles some, through misunderstanding certain difficult passages of St. Paul, argued that they might 'do evil that good may come.'" And so, too, men had not grasped the distinction between those works which precede and those which result from justification;[2] he goes on to remark that "since this notion (*viz.* that works were not necessary) was in vogue in apostolic times the letters of other Apostles, namely, Peter, John, James, and Jude, are especially concerned with showing that faith without works is of no avail." He especially dwells on this feature in St. Peter's *Second Epistle*, for St. Peter knew "that evil-minded men had taken occasion from certain less clear statements of St. Paul to argue that they need not trouble to live well, since they were sure of that salvation which springs from faith . . . and James himself vehemently attacks" those who proclaim such views, *e.g.* ii. 18-19.[3]

Now, even though we grant that 2 Pet. iii. 11-18 does refer to St. Paul's doctrine in the *Epistle to the Romans*, can we adduce any proof that St. James knew this Epistle? If this could be shown, we should have a fixed point for dating St. James' Epistle, *viz.* later than A.D. 55, when, according to the chronological system we have adopted, *Romans* was written. It is usually maintained that St. James' Epistle betrays an acquaintance with *Romans*, but we confess that it is exceedingly difficult to accept the proof offered, for this consists in a series of minute similarities between the two Epistles, and these seem to be little more than commonplaces. Thus we are asked to compare :

[1] *De Diversis Quæstionibus*, LXXXIII, *Qu.* LXXVI, *P.L.* XL. 87-88.
[2] "Sequuntur enim justificatum, non præcedunt justificandum," *De Fide et Operibus*, xiv (21), *P.L.* XL. 211.
[3] *Ibid.*

St. James.		*Romans.*
i. 3	with	v. 4-5.
i. 22	,,	ii. 13.
ii. 21-24	,,	iv. 9-16.
iii. 8 and v. 3	,,	iii. 13.
iv. 1	,,	vii. 23.
iv. 4	,,	viii. 7.
iv. 12	,,	xiv. 4.
v. 4	,,	ix. 29.

But it is not identical individual words that are needed to establish such an acquaintance as is suggested; we need phrases. Moreover, had St. James been occupied in disproving a false estimate of St. Paul's doctrine, would he not simply have said "and he was speaking of the works of the Mosaic Law, whereas I am speaking of the 'faith that worketh by charity'"?

E. Canonicity of the Epistle.

Ever since the days of Luther, who termed St. James' Epistle "an Epistle of straw" because of its doctrine on faith and works, there have existed lurking doubts as to the canonicity of this Epistle. It is true that Eusebius speaks of it as "the so-called Epistle of James,"[1] but then Origen does the same,[2] though at other times he quotes it freely and as the work of St. James the Apostle.[3] It is true, too, that it does not occur in the *Muratorian Fragment*.[4] But when we have said this we have practically given all the adverse evidence that exists.

Clement of Rome, 1 Cor. 10, 17, 21, has repeated references to Abraham, and in two of these passages to Abraham as "the friend" of God, as in Jas. ii. 21, which is the only place in the New Testament where Abraham is so named, *cf.* Isa. xli. 8 and 2 Paral. xx. 7; Philo, too, so read Gen. xviii. 17, and the appellation may have been quite a common one. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the *Pastor* of Hermas, *c.* A.D. 150, and therefore probably cotemporary with the *Muratorian Fragment* which omits this Epistle, is thoroughly well acquainted with *James;* thus compare:

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[1] *H.E.* III. xxv. 3. [2] *Tom.* XIX. 6 *in Joan.*

[3] *Tom.* XX. 10 *in Joan.; Lib.* IV. 8 and IX. 24 in *Ep. ad Rom.*, where he quotes Jas. i. 17 and iv. 4, 7-8.

[4] *Cf.* vol. ii., pp. 89-90.

Pastor.		*St. James*
Simil. vi. 1 and ix. 14	with	i. 21.
Visio iii. 9 and *Simil.* i. 8	,,	i. 27.
Simil. viii. 6	,,	ii. 7.
Mand. xiii. 5	,,	iv. 7.
Mand. xxi. 6 and *Simil.* ix. 23	,,	iv. 12.

Clement of Alexandria quotes the words "charity covereth a multitude of sins," which may either be taken from 1 Pet. iv. 8[1] or Jas. v. 20; also the words "God resisteth the proud . . ." either from Jas. iv. 6 or 1 Pet. v. 5;[2] but he also speaks of being "royal"[3] in a way which reminds us of St. James' "royal way," ii. 8. These are but vague and merely possible allusions, and it is the same with St. Irenæus and his reference to Abraham as "the friend of God."[4]

The same, too, must be said of Tertullian and his reference to Abraham as the "friend" of God.[5]

From this time onwards the Epistle is always known as canonical, and as the work of James the Apostle and the Lord's brother. Eusebius sums up the position fairly when he says: "James is said to be the author of the first of the so-called 'Catholic' Epistles. But it is to be observed that this Epistle is disputed; at any rate, not many of the ancients have mentioned it (yet see above). The same is the case with the Epistle that bears the name of Jude; also one of the so-called seven 'Catholic' Epistles. None the less, we are aware that these Epistles, too, with the rest, have been wont to be read publicly in many Churches."[6] According to Dean Burgon, St. Augustine quotes this Epistle no less than three hundred and eighty-nine times and St. Jerome one hundred and twenty-three times.[7] It is given as one of the canonical books in the catalogues drawn up by St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Amphilochius in the East; and in the West in those of Pope Innocent I., in the Gelasian Decree, in the Councils of Hippo and Carthage, and in St. Augustine.[8]

[1] *Strom.* IV. 18. [2] *Strom.* III. 6 and IV. 17. [3] *Strom.* VI. 18.
[4] *Adv. Hær.* IV. xiii. 4. [5] *Adv. Judæos*, II.
[6] *H.E.* II. xxiii. 5. [7] See Sanday in *Studia Biblica*, I. 128.
[8] See vol. ii., pp. 85-88.

F. Theology of the Epistle.

God and the Father: He is One, ii. 19; is the Father of lights, i. 17; is unchangeable, i. 17; is God and the Father, i. 27, iii. 9; His name is invoked on us, ii. 7; the Prophets spoke in His name, v. 10; He is Lord, iv. 10, v. 10, 11; He is the one Lawgiver, iv. 12; the one Judge, iv. 12; the Lord of Hosts, v. 4; He begot us by His will, i. 18; by the word of truth, i. 18; to be the beginning of His creation, i. 18; He is compassionate, v. 11; giveth abundantly, i. 5; upbraideth not, i. 5; promises the crown of life, i. 12; tempts not to evil, i. 13; we must love Him, i. 12; are made to His image, ii. 5; anger worketh not justice according to God, i. 20; the friendship of this world means enmity with God, iv. 4; we must be subject to God, iv. 7; and draw nigh to Him, iv. 8; that He may draw nigh to us, iv. 8; we must be humbled before Him, iv. 10.

The Christology: Christ is the Lord Jesus Christ, i. 1, ii. 1; of glory, ii. 1; He is the Just One, v. 6; was put to death, v. 6; resisted not, v. 6; James is His servant, i. 1; faith in Him demands no respect of persons, ii. 1; He is the Judge, v. 9; the sick are to be anointed in His name, v. 14; and He will raise up the sick man, v. 15.

Faith: is said to be "of our Lord Jesus Christ of glory," ii. 1; it is to be tried, i. 3; we must ask in faith, i. 6; the prayer of faith, v. 15; must not be wavering, i. 6-8; the poor are described as "rich in faith," ii. 5; faith in relation to works, ii. 14, 17-26; (*a*) faith alone will not save us, ii. 24; (*b*) it is made perfect by works, ii. 22; (*c*) without works it is dead, ii. 20, 26; the devils believe and tremble, ii. 19.

Sin: is conceived of concupiscence, i. 15; it brings death, i. 15; breach of the Law on one point is sin against the entire Law, ii. 10; sin of deliberate omission, iv. 17; sin of respect of persons, ii. 9; sin is forgiven in extreme unction, v. 15; confession of sin, v. 16; the conversion of a sinner, v. 19-20.

Temptation: is all joy, i. 2; produces patience, i. 3; gains the crown of life, i. 12; is not from God, i. 13; is the fruit of concupiscence, i. 14.

G. Bibliography.

In addition to the general commentators and dictionaries, see Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, 1913; also Plummer in the *Expositor's Bible*, 1891; Carr, *Cambridge Greek Testament*, 1899. Also articles in *R.B.*, 1895, p. 272; 1896, October; 1898, p. 77; 1905, January and October; 1910, January; 1915, January; also *Problems in James*, chap. iii., in *Expositor*, September, 1918.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ST. PETER THE PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES

I. Some Extra-Biblical Details of His Life.
II. Writings falsely attributed to Him.
III. St. Peter's First and Second Epistle.

I. SOME EXTRA-BIBLICAL DETAILS OF HIS LIFE.

Without attempting a detailed life of St. Peter, it may be well to set down here some of the principal events outside the Gospel history. St. Jerome has given us a summary which is really a masterpiece within a small compass:

"Simon Peter, son of John, of the Province of Galilee and the town of Bethsaida, brother of Andrew and Prince of the Apostles, after occupying the See of Antioch and preaching to the dispersed Jews of the circumcision who were dispersed throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia (1 Pet. i. 1), came to Rome in the second year of Claudius in order to combat Simon Magus; for five-and-twenty years he held the priestly chair there, that is, until the last, or fourteenth year of Nero, from whom he won the crown of martyrdom, being fastened to a cross with his head downwards and his feet upwards, for he declared himself unworthy to be crucified as was his Lord.

"He wrote two *Epistles*, which are known as *Catholic Epistles*, though many deny that the second of these is his, since its style is so different from that of the former Epistle. But the Gospel according to Mark, who heard him and served as his interpreter, is called Peter's. The other works which are styled Peter's, *e.g.* the *Acts*, the *Gospel*, the *Preaching*, the *Apocalypse*, and the *Judgment*, must be accounted apocryphal.

"Peter was buried at Rome on the Vatican, hard by the Via Triumphalis; he is honoured and venerated by the whole world."[1]

[1] *Vir. Illustr.* I., *P.L.* XXIII. 607.

Nearly every point in this statement has been controverted at one time or another. But of late years scholars have come to see that it is idle to dispute the main facts in St. Peter's life, and least of all those connected with his sojourn in Rome.

"That St. Peter visited Rome between the years A.D. 62 and A.D. 65 and that he was put to death there by crucifixion is admitted by everyone who studies the evidence in a fair and reasonable spirit. This is not a tradition; it may rather be described as a fact vouched for by contemporary, or nearly contemporary, evidence. On this point no statement could be stronger than that of Professor Lanciani: 'I write about the monuments of Rome from a strictly archæological point of view, avoiding questions which pertain, or are supposed to pertain, to religious controversy. For the archæologist, the presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence.'"[1]

The weakness of the arguments against St. Peter's lengthy sojourn in Rome could hardly be better displayed than in the efforts made by McGiffert, the learned and scholarly editor of Eusebius' *Church History*, to demolish the tradition.[2] When St. Jerome affirms that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years he is either right or guilty of an incredible blunder, or we are wrong in supposing that the twenty-five years necessarily mean continuous presence in the city.[3]

His sojourn at Rome, however, and his crucifixion there are well-attested facts, and that is really all that is required. It is gratifying, too, to note that scholars nowadays accept the identification of "Babylon" in 1 Pet. v. 13 with Rome;

[1] Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, p. 47, being the Bampton Lectures for 1913.

[2] Notes on *H.E.* II. xiv. 6.

[3] Edmundson, *l.c.*, pp. 49 and 71, and note that St. Jerome had access to all the chronological works of antiquity, *e.g.* the *Chronography* of Julius Africanus, the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus, and the *Memorials* of Hegesippus, but all these are now lost. Further, it would be misleading to suppose that it is only in the above-quoted *Catalogue* that Jerome gives twenty-five years for St. Peter's Roman Episcopate. He repeats the statement in his translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, of which the Greek is now lost, but of which the Syriac version agrees with Jerome in assigning the same period of twenty-five years; see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, part i., vol. i., pp. 214-246. For a criticism of Edmundson's views on St. Peter's journeys see the *Expositor*, March to June, 1919.

the fact that the *Sybilline Oracles*, book v., dating from the latter part of the first century, say of Nero, "The prince shall flee from Babylon, trembling and shameless," should be sufficient proof of the then common usage.[1]

Tertullian furnishes us with several traditions on St. Peter's stay in Rome; he tells us that he baptized in the Tiber,[2] that Peter and Paul were together in Rome,[3] and that Peter was crucified there.[4] Eusebius speaks of portraits of Christ with the two Apostles,[5] and St. Augustine reiterates the statement and says that they are at Rome.[6] St. Augustine also repeatedly insists that the two Apostles were martyred on the same day,[7] that their tombs are in Rome,[8] and that their twin feast is kept there.[9]

II. WRITINGS FALSELY ATTRIBUTED TO ST. PETER.

It can be no matter for surprise that more apocryphal literature has attached itself to the name of St. Peter than to any other Apostle. Thus Eusebius[10] says: "The so-called *Acts* of Peter and the *Gospel* which bears his name, as also the *Preaching* and the *Apocalypse*, we know have not been accepted universally, because no ecclesiastical writer, ancient or modern, has made use of testimonies drawn from

[1] *Cf. infra*, p. 301, note 1; also Edmundson, *l.c.*, p. 120, and Zahn, *Introd.*, Engl. tr., II., pp. 167-169.

[2] *De Baptismo*, iv.

[3] *Scorpiace*, xv.; *Adv. Marcion*, IV. 5; Lactantius, *Instituta*, IV. 21; *H.E.* II. xiv. 25.

[4] *Scorpiace*, xiv.; *cf.* St. Ambrose, *De Interpellatione Job et David*, I. i. 2, *P.L.* XIV. 836; St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* LVI. on Gen. xlviii., *P.G.* LIV. 567, etc.

[5] *H.E.* VII. xviii. 4.

[6] *De Consensu*, I. x. (16). The archæologist Garrucchi examined no less than 340 gilded glasses from the catacombs, and 80 of them had portraits of SS. Peter and Paul painted on the flat bottom in gold leaf; *cf.* Cobern, *The New Archæological Discoveries*, 2nd *ed.*, 1917, p. 520. These portraits are referred to the period A.D. 150-220. See, too, Marucchi, *Éléments d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, I., p. 330; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 212. Cobern, *l.c.*, p. 492, gives us a facsimile of a portrait of St. Paul from the cemetery of Domitilla, fourth century; the Apostle is depicted as bald, with longish features and a beard; *cf.* Wilpert, *Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane*, Tav. 48 and 252, 1903.

[7] *Sermo*, ccxcvi. 5, 7; ccxcviii. 1. [8] *Enarr.* in Ps. xliv. 23.

[9] *Sermo*, ccxcvii. 4. [10] *H.E.* III. iii. 2; *cp.* xxv. 6.

them." Taking these works in order we have, besides Eusebius' reference, MSS. of various dates giving us what are termed "Gnostic" *Acts of Peter*, and also Catholic *Acts;* the former were edited by Lipsius in 1891, the latter by Tischendorf. Both contain many extraordinary details, and both give the story of "Quo vadis?" while the latter narrates how Peter asked to be crucified head downwards, as Eusebius also tells us,[1] as also does Origen.[2] Photius[3] speaks of these "Acts" as "valuable"; that they were in favour with the Manicheans we learn from St. Augustine.[4]

The Gospel of Peter.—Origen[5] tells us that certain folk held that the "brethren of the Lord" were sons of St. Joseph by a former wife; they derived this view, he adds, from "the Gospel which is styled 'according to Peter,' or from the book of James," *viz.* the *Protevangelion*. Eusebius further gives us an interesting account of how Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, wrote a treatise on "the so-called *Gospel of Peter*," which he declared to be spurious and full of the Docetic heresy, *i.e.* the views of those who held that Christ only "seemed" to suffer.[6] This *Gospel* was discovered at Akhmim in Egypt and published in 1892;[7] the text thus discovered fully confirmed Serapion's denunciation of it. Mr. Turner would assign the composition of this *Gospel* to an early date in the second century.[8]

The Preaching of Peter.—In his commentary on *St. John's Gospel* Origen remarks that Heracleon, whose commentaries he had made such use of, had quoted from a book entitled *The Preaching of Peter*. Origen adds that this book taught very much what St. Peter would have taught, but he adds words that are instructive as showing whence Eusebius presumably drew his terminology when setting out his principles on the canon of the Bible: "We will not here discuss whether this is a genuine, a spurious, or a mixed book."[9] In the *Prologue* to his treatise, *De Principiis*,

[1] *H.E.* III. iii. 1. [2] *Tom.* III. *in Genesim.*
[3] *Bibliotheca*, cxiii., *P.G.* XCIII. 387.
[4] *Contra Faustum*, XXX. 4, *cf.* also *J.T.S.*, July, 1915.
[5] *Tom.* X. 17 *in Matt.*; Delarue, III. 463. [6] *H.E.* VI. xii. 2-6.
[7] *Egypt Exploration Fund Reports*, 1895-96, p. 51; *R.B.*, October, 1894, April, 1895. [8] *J.T.S.*, January, 1913.
[9] *Tom.* XIII. 17 *in Joan.*, πότερόν ποτε γνήσιόν ἐστιν, ἢ νόθου, ἢ μικτόν, *cp. h.l.* vol. ii., p. 75.

Origen says: "Someone may quote against us the words found in the book known as *The Doctrine of Peter*, 'I am not an incorporeal dæmon,' words said to have been spoken by our Saviour to His disciples"; but Origen is content to remark that this work "is neither by Peter nor by anyone inspired by the Spirit of God."[1] It is of interest, however, to find that St. Ignatius quotes these very words when writing to the Smyrnæans, and says they were spoken "to Peter and those who were with him." Eusebius remarks that Ignatius has got this passage "I know not whence,"[2] but St. Jerome twice quotes the same passage, and each time refers it to "the Gospel which I have recently translated," *i.e.* the Nazarene Gospel, or the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.[3] The difficulty is that Eusebius, who so often refers to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, should not have recognized a quotation from it. Modern critics refer the *Preaching* to an early date in the second century.

The Apocalypse of Peter.—Eusebius tells us that Clement of Alexandria in his lost *Hypotyposes* gave, amongst other things, an abridged account of the *Apocalypse of Peter*,[4] and in his *Eclogæ* Clement seems to regard it as genuinely St. Peter's work. It is given in the *Muratorian Fragment*[5] with the *Apocalypse of St. John*. It was rediscovered at Akhmim and published with the *Gospel of Peter* in 1892. Sozomen[6] says it was publicly read at Easter. It is generally referred to the early second century.

The Doctrine of Peter.—See above *s.v. Preaching*.

The Judicium of Peter is referred to by St. Jerome once.[7]

In addition to the above we have the mass of the *Clementine literature*, consisting in the main of the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions*. A generic name for these works seems to have been the Περιόδοι, or *Itinerarium* or *Journeyings of Peter*, with which is combined the journeyings of Clement in search of truth and Peter's overthrow of Simon Magus.

[1] *De Princip. Prol.* viii. *ed.* Delarue, I. 49.
[2] *H.E.* III. xxxvi. 11.
[3] *Vir. Illustr.* xvi, *Præf. in Lib.* xviii. *in Isaiam*. Clement of Alexandria has several quotations of the *Preaching*, *e.g.* on the Law, *Strom.* I. 29; on Monotheism, VI. 5; on Christ's parabolic teaching, VI. 15.
[4] *H.E.* VI. xiv. 1.
[5] *Cf.* vol. xxxiii., p. 90.
[6] Socrates, *H.E.* VII. xix.
[7] *Vir. Illustr.* I.

The *Recognitions* are known to us only in a Latin translation made by Rufinus about A.D. 400; the *Homilies* give us approximately the same stories in a Greek dress. An immense amount of early Christian tradition is enshrined in these books; their interest, however, for modern readers lies in the use made of them by writers of the Tubingen school to substantiate their views about the strife between the ideals of Peter and Paul respectively. Undoubtedly these writings are to be referred to an early date; that Origen knew them is evidenced by a quotation preserved in the *Philocalia*, 22, from his *Commentary on Genesis*. St. Jerome refers to them more than once, and as the *Periodoi* or *Travels of Peter*, he quotes them as an authority for the statement that Peter was tonsured,[1] also for the statement that he left his wife—"we read in the Περιόδοι of his wife and daughter."[2] Jerome adds significantly, "But now all controversy touching the canon is over."[3] That these books were familiar in the Middle Ages is seen from St. Thomas' quotation of the *Itinerarium Clementis*, which is, however, "now proscribed in the Decretals."[4]

[1] *On Gal.* i. 18, *P.L.* XXVI. 429.

[2] *Adv. Jovin.* I. 26, *P.L.* XXIII. 246.

[3] At least we presume that this is the meaning of "Sed nunc nobis de canone omne certamen est," since he does not discuss any question of the canon here.

[4] *Summa Theologica*, Ia. Qu. CXVII. 4, the second difficulty.

III. ST. PETER'S FIRST AND SECOND EPISTLE.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER.

A. The Subject-Matter of the Epistle.
B. Analysis of the Epistle.
C. To Whom was it Addressed? its Date.
D. Authenticity and Canonicity of the Epistle.
E. The Vocabulary; the Vulgate Text; Relation of 1 Peter to Romans, Ephesians, and Hebrews.
F. Theology.

A. The Subject-Matter of the Epistle.

St. Peter's *First Epistle* was written from Rome[1] to the Christians scattered throughout the provinces of Northern Asia Minor. They are termed "strangers" in the same sense as Abraham describes himself as "a stranger and a sojourner" in Palestine, Gen. xxiii. 4; *cp.* 1 Pet. ii. 11. They have never seen Christ, but none the less they believe in Him, love Him, and must therefore hope in Him, i. 8, 9, 13. This was particularly necessary for them, since they were

[1] That the "Babylon" of v. 13 stands for Rome is practically certain. St. Jerome says "he mentions Rome figuratively under the name of Babylon," *De Viris Ill* VIII., where, however, he is simply copying Eusebius, *H.E.* II. xv. 2. The Ven. Bede, in his commentary on 1 Pet. v. 13, follows the tradition. But the most conclusive evidence against the view that "Babylon" here means the Mesopotamian city is furnished by the remark of Strabo the geographer, *c.* 20 B.C., who tells us that Seleucus Nicator transferred the seat of empire to Seleucia about three hundred stadia from the ancient Babylon, which "is in great part *deserted* . . . so that none would hesitate to apply to it the words of the comic poet when speaking of Megalopolitæ, 'The great city is a great desert,'" XVI. 15, *ed.* Bohn, vol. iii., p. 145. The same information is furnished by Pausanias, *Descriptio Græciæ, Arcadia*, XXXIII., *ed.* Shubart, Teubner, Leipsic, 1875. For the figurative use of "Babylon," *cf. Apoc.* xiv. 8, xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 2, 10, 21. It should be noted, too, that Eusebius, in the passage referred to above, as copied by St. Jerome, expressly says that both Clement of Alexandria as well as Papias uphold the same interpretation; this is obscured in McGiffert's edition of Eusebius.

going through a time of persecution which demanded much patience, ii. 20-25, iii. 14, 17, iv. 1, 12-19. They must fortify themselves, therefore, with the thought of Christ's patience, ii. 20-25, and must reflect that they are redeemed, i. 19, and shall therefore rise again, i. 21. This Epistle may consequently be described as a message of consolation to those in affliction. Thus the Apostle speaks of himself as a witness of the Passion of Christ, v. 1; perhaps, too, of His Transfiguration, v. 1, *cp.* II. i. 16-17.

B. Analysis of the Epistle.

A. i. 1-5. *The introduction.*

(*a*) *Peter, an Apostle . . . to the strangers dispersed throughout* the various Provinces of Asia Minor; they are *elect according to the foreknowledge of the Father*, sanctified by *the Spirit*, redeemed by *the blood of Jesus Christ*.

(*b*) i. 3-5. Thanksgiving to God, Who has thus made us heirs of an *inheritance* which *can never fade*.

B. i. 6-ii. 10. *The doctrinal teaching of the Epistle.*

(*a*) i. 6-9. This faith of theirs must needs be tried, hence they must not be surprised if they have to suffer.

i. 10-12. Of their salvation—the *end of their faith*—the Prophets of old spoke.

(*c*) i. 13-25. Hence they must *trust perfectly in the grace which is offered . . . in the revelation of Jesus Christ*. Hence, too, they must be *in all manner of conversation holy*, for they have not been redeemed merely by gold or silver from the empty traditions of their fathers, but by *the precious Blood of the Lamb unspotted*, and they have been *born again . . . by the Word of God, Who liveth and remaineth for ever . . ., and this is the Word which by the Gospel hath been preached to you*.

(*d*) ii. 1-10. Hence let them come to Christ as to *the Living Stone*, themselves also *living stones, a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices*, for God has called us out *of darkness into His marvellous light*.

C. ii. 11-v. 9. *The moral teaching of the Epistle.*

(*a*) ii. 11-25. Let them, then, *as strangers and pilgrims*, refrain from carnal desires; be subject to authority, for *so is the will of God;* be ready to suffer, not as sinners, but as well-doers, for *this is thanksworthy before God;* let them, in fine, imitate the example of Christ, *Who, when He was reviled, did not revile*, and *you are now converted to the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls*.

(*b*) iii. 1-7. And so let wives be subject to their husbands; let them imitate the holy women of old, as Sara who called her husband "Lord." And husbands likewise must *do honour to the weaker vessel as to co-heirs in the grace of life*.

(*c*) iii. 8-22. And all must be brotherly one towards another; they must live in peace with all, yet be ready—if required—*to give a reason of that hope which is in you.* Neither must they be afraid to suffer, for *Christ also died once for our sins;* He even *preached to the spirits* in Limbo, to those, namely, who had resisted in the days of Noe, when only eight souls were saved by water, which water was a type of our Baptism, whereby we also are saved *by the resurrection of Christ.*

(*d*) iv. 1-11. And as Christ suffered in the flesh, so must they cease from sin; they have hitherto been as Gentiles, now they must be mindful of Him *Who is ready to judge the living and the dead; the end of all is at hand,* let them watch *as good stewards of the manifold grace of God.*

(*e*) iv. 12-19. Once more, then, let them not be afraid to suffer, rejoicing in the thought of Christ's coming; but let them be careful to suffer not as wrong-doers, *but as Christians; for the time is at hand that judgment should begin at the house of God.*

(*f*) v. 1-4. The Ancients must be careful to *feed the flock of God,* and then, *when the Prince of Pastors shall appear, ye shall receive a never-failing crown of glory.*

(*g*) v. 5-9. The young men, again, must be subject, must be sober and watch; *casting all your care upon Him, for He hath care of you.*

D. v. 10-14. *May the God of all grace perfect you and confirm you and establish you.* This brief Epistle is sent by the hand of Sylvanus (or perhaps written by him). The Church *in Babylon*—that is, Rome—salutes them, as also does *my son Mark.*

C. To Whom was the Epistle Addressed?

Commentators have been wont to maintain that since in iii. 15 St. Peter implies that this persecution was official—note *ἀπολογίαν*—and further that it was universal throughout the Church, v. 9, and that since we have no hint of any persecution of this character anterior to that in which Peter himself suffered under Nero, from A.D. 64 onwards, it will follow that Peter cannot be the author of an Epistle which must have been written after those events. But as a matter of fact there is really no suggestion whatever that the persecution Peter refers to was of such a type. The Christians were, indeed, iv. 14, treated opprobriously "for Christ's name," but this implies no more than the ordinary treatment meted out to pious folk by the world in general. The point is of importance, as the date—and consequently the authorship—of the Epistle depend upon it.

Again, a great deal turns on the identity of the recipients of the Epistle, which is addressed "to the elect strangers of the dispersion of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." It is generally argued that these must, of course, have been St. Peter's own converts, and that consequently he is writing to people amongst whom he had laboured in the past. Further, that since to Peter was committed the apostleship of the circumcision, *i.e.* of the Jews, the recipients of this letter must have been Jews converted to Christianity, and this view is confirmed, so it is maintained, by the fact that they are said to be "of the dispersion." But if the recipients really were St. Peter's own converts, if he had once toiled amongst them, is it probable that he would make no mention of this fact? Is it likely that there should be no hint that he is writing to people many of whom would recall him with affection? We have only to compare the way in which St. Paul writes to his converts, *e.g.* to the Philippians, to realize how improbable is this supposition. There is no suggestion anywhere in early Christian literature—save such as are based on what we feel to be a false interpretation of the opening words of this Epistle—that St. Peter actually evangelized Asia Minor.[1] Further, the districts named are all of them Roman provinces. Galatia was, of course, evangelized by St. Paul; into Bithynia he was forbidden "by the Spirit" to go, Acts xvi. 7. But, as the circular letter known to us as the *Epistle to the Ephesians* shows, St. Paul was well known, and his converts and Churches were spread all over Asia. It seems a legitimate conclusion that St. Peter is here addressing these Pauline—or indirectly Pauline—Churches. But St. Paul's converts were drawn in the main from the Gentiles; how, then, it might be asked, does St. Peter address them as "of the dispersion"? Yet does he really do so? It is noticeable that the word διασπορᾶς lacks the article, *cp.* Jas. i. 1; it looks as though this meant that the recipients of the Epistle were not of

[1] Thus Eusebius: "In how many provinces Peter preached Christ and taught the doctrine of the new covenant to those of the circumcision is clear from his own words in his Epistle already mentioned as undisputed, in which he writes to the Hebrews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," *H.E.* III. iv. 2.

"the dispersion" in the technical sense, but were simply "dispersed" in the sense that they were "elect," *i.e.* chosen out and separated off from their fellow-Gentiles, *viz.* were Christians. What is said in the course of the Epistle touching persecution really amounts to little more than this sense of aloofness, with consequent contemptuous treatment by the surrounding heathen. It is in the same sense that St. Peter addresses them as "strangers," i. 1 and ii. 11, where he uses the expression παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους exactly as in Heb. xi. 13 and in the LXX of Gen. xxiii. 4. For this is precisely what these converted Gentiles had become—they were "strangers and sojourners" amongst their own people, *cp.* i. 17.

A further difficulty remains: how could St. Peter, the "Apostle of the circumcision," address these Gentile Christians? But to press this point is to lay an undue insistence on the relative spheres of work of St. Peter and St. Paul. It would be absurd to suppose that neither was to intrude upon the sphere of the other. Nor does it do justice to St. Peter's position as supreme Pastor. He is writing from Rome, v. 13, *cf. infra;* he is familiar, too, with St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, and also with at least one Epistle written by him from Rome, *viz.* the circular letter to the Asian Churches, *cf. infra*, and he not unnaturally feels that it will assist these struggling Churches of the uncircumcision to receive a consolatory letter, such as this is, from the "Apostle of the circumcision," who, when addressing their Elders, can call himself their "fellow-Elder," v. 1, and an actual witness of the Passion of Christ, *ibid.*

The Date of the Epistle.—If we are correct in saying that St. Peter shows familiarity with the *Epistle to the Romans* and also with that to the *Ephesians*, it will follow that 1 *Peter* must have been written after St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, when he penned the *Epistle to the Ephesians.* Therefore it will date after A.D. 60. Similarly, the Epistle must antedate the Neronian persecution, and must therefore have been written previous to A.D. 64.

D. The Authenticity of the First Epistle.

The authenticity of the First Epistle has practically never been called in question. It is true that it is not mentioned in the *Muratorian Fragment*, *q.v.*, but this document is so illiterate that its silence cannot be regarded as an argument. Moreover, that the Roman Church of that period knew of 1 *Peter* is clear from the frequent quotations of it in St. Clement and in the *Shepherd of Hermas*.[1] For further information see *s.v. Canon* N.T. See, too, the passage from St. Jerome's *De Viris Illustr.* quoted above, and the following three passages from Eusebius:

"The same writer (Papias) uses testimonies from the *First Epistle of John*, and likewise from *that of Peter*."[2]

And again:

"One Epistle of Peter is acknowledged as genuine, that called the *First*, and this the Elders used freely in their own writings as an undisputed work. But we have learned that his extant *Second* Epistle does not belong to the canon; yet as it has appeared profitable to many, it has been used with the other Scriptures. The so-called *Acts* of Peter, however, with the *Gospel* which bears his name and the *Preaching* and the *Apocalypse* (of Peter), as they are called, have not, we know, been universally accepted, because no ecclesiastical writer, ancient or modern, has made use of testimonies drawn from them. . . . Such are the writings that bear the name of Peter, only one of which I know to be genuine and acknowledged by the ancient Elders."[3]

Similarly, he quotes from a now lost fragment of Origen's *Commentary on St. John:*

"And Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built, 'against which the gates of hell shall not prevail,' has left one acknowledged Epistle; perhaps also a second, but this is doubtful."[4]

St. Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians* may be regarded as a cento of quotations from the books of the New Testament; his allusions to, or direct quotations of, 1 *Peter* are conclusive. Thus note:

1 *Peter.*		*Polycarp.*	1 *Peter.*		*Polycarp.*
i. 13	and	ii.	ii. 24	and	viii.
ii. 21-22	,,	viii.	ii. 12	,,	x.
i. 21	,,	ii.	iii. 9	,,	ii.
ii. 11	,,	v.	iv. 7	,,	vii.

Cp. also 1 Pet. v. 5 and 1 Clem. xxx.

[1] Thus *cp.* Clem., *Ad Cor.* ii. and 1 Pet. ii. 17; *ibid.* xlix. and 1 Pet. iv. 8; *ibid.* ii. and 1 Pet. v. 5. Also Hermas, *Sim.* ix, xvi, and 1 Pet. iii. 19; *Vis.* iv. 2 and 1 Pet. v. 7.

[2] *H.E.* III. xxxix. 16. [3] *Ibid.* III. iii. [4] *Ibid.* VI. xxv.

E. The Vocabulary of 1 Peter.

(*a*) A study of the vocabulary in 1 and 2 *Peter* respectively is of real interest. Thus both Epistles have a certain number of words peculiar to each, as is only to be expected; yet 2 *Peter* is remarkable in this respect.

In 1 *Peter* such forms as ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, iv. 15, should be noted. The Vulgate renders this "alienorum appetitor," a translation which is curiously illustrated by an inscription in the Berlin Museum, ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμητής.[1] Other words or forms peculiar to this Epistle are ἀμαράντινος, v. 4, and ἀμάραντος, i. 4, *cp. Apoc. of Peter*, v.; ἀναγεννήσας, i. 3, 23; ἀναζωσάμενοι, i. 13; ἀνάχυσις, iv. 4; ἀνεκλαλήτος, i. 8; ἀντιλοιδόρει, ii. 23; ἀπογενομέναι, ii. 23; ἀπονέμοντες, iii. 7; ἀρχιπόιμην, v. 5: this form has usually been regarded as a peculiarly Christian one, but it occurs in Egyptian inscriptions;[2] ἐγκομβώσασθε, v. 5, a word without any known parallel; ἐμπλόκης, iii. 3, *cp.* ἐμπλέκω, 2 Pet. ii. 20 and 2 Tim. ii. 4: the word generally means "a struggle," but a parallel to St. Peter's use of it occurs in a regulation for the priestesses of Demeter about 91 B.C., μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀνπεπλεγμένας;[3] ἐπερώτημα, iii. 21, is used in contemporary papyri in the sense of "sanction," which suits well here; ἐποπτεύσαντες, ii. 12, iii. 2, *cf.* ἐπόπται, 2 Pet. i. 16, rendered by the Vulgate "considerantes" and "speculatores," and occurring in the papyri as an appellative of the Cæsar and of officials; the term πατροπαραδότον, i. 18, is, as might have been expected, a very late one, and one which naturally found a place in patristic use, *e.g.* by Eusebius; πρόγνωσις, i. 2, *cf.* i. 20, is of interest, as the only other place where it occurs is in St. Peter's speech, Acts ii. 23.

(*b*) *The Vulgate text* differs but slightly from the Greek.

In i. 7 it omits "the gold *that perisheth*, τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου"; in i. 22 it omits "in obedience *to the truth through the Spirit*," but substitutes "caritatis"; in iii. 16 it, with the critical Greek editions, omits ὡς κακοποιῶν, "as evil-doers"; in iii. 22 it adds "deglutiens mortem, ut vitæ æternæ heredes efficeremur"—*Cod. Fuldensis* stands alone in not having this addition; in iv. 1, 3, 13, we have minor omissions; in iv. 14 the Sixtine and Clementine, with the critical Greek editions, omit "among them, indeed, it (the glory of God) is blasphemed, among you it is glorified," but very good Vulgate MSS. retain these words; in v. 10 it neglects to translate θεμελιώσει; in i. 8 we find ἄρτι rendered by "nunc quoque"; in ii. 13 κύριον by "Deum." But the most curious change occurs in i. 12, where the Latin, by reading "in quem," seems to imply that it is the Holy Spirit on whom the Angels desire to look, whereas the Greek εἰς ἃ would refer it to the fulfilment of the Messianic promises. In iv. 4 ξενίζονται is translated as "admirantur," *cp.* iv. 12; in iv. 16 μέρει by "nomine"; in v. 2 ἐπισκοποῦντες

[1] See Moulton and Milligan, *s.v.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

by "providentes"; in v. 14 we have "gratia" instead of "pax" for εἰρήνη.

(*c*) It has been remarked that this Epistle betrays an acquaintance with St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*. The resemblances are few, but of such a character as to justify the statement.

Thus, in i. 8 ἀνεκλαλήτῳ recalls the equally rare ἀλαλήτοις of Rom. viii. 26; similarly, συσχηματιζόμενοι in i. 14 recalls Rom. xii. 2, where the context, too, is almost precisely similar. Note, also, λογικόν, ii. 2 and Rom. xii. 1; εὐπροσδέκτος, ii. 5 and Rom. xv. 16, 31, also 2 Cor. vi. 2, viii. 13. Finally, compare iii. 18 with Rom. v. 6-7. Details such as these cannot, of course, be unduly pressed, but neither can they be simply rejected. A similar comparison might be instituted between the vocabulary in this Epistle and that to the Hebrews. Thus, note παρεπιδήμους, i. 1, ii. 11, and Heb. xi. 13; ῥαντισμός, i. 2 and Heb. xii. 24; ἀμίαντος, i. 4 and Heb. vii. 26, xiii. 4, also Jas. i. 27; ἀντίτυπος, iii. 4 and Heb. ix. 24. None of these forms are common, and consequently their occurrence in both Epistles has to be accounted for. Note, for instance, the use of κομίζω in 1 Pet. i. 9, v. 4, 2 Pet. ii. 13, and Heb. x. 36, xi. 19 and 39.

(*d*) That St. Peter was familiar with St. Paul's *Epistle to the Ephesians* is practically beyond doubt. It seems hardly possible that his opening words, i. 3, could be word for word those of Eph. i. 3 and 2 Cor. i. 3 unless he had read these Epistles, or at least one of them. Elsewhere he does not quote St. Paul so much as recall him; thus, note how in i. 4 κληρονομία seems to take up the thought which in Eph. i. St. Paul seemed to have dropped, though he returns to it in i. 14. It is the same with the doctrine of election in Eph. i. 4-11, which seems reproduced in 1 Pet. i. 3-9; and with the edifice of the Christian life in Eph. ii. 11-22 and 1 Pet. ii. 4-10, where, too, ver. 6 should be compared with Rom. ix. 33; *cp.* also 1 Pet. iii. 22 with Eph. i. 20-22.

(*e*) That there is some inter-relationship between 1 *Peter* and *Hebrews* will be clear from the following parallels, which, of course, are more evident in the Greek text: *cp.* i. 6-7, on temptation, and Heb. xii. 11; i. 19, the Blood of Christ the unspotted victim, and Heb. ix. 14; ii. 20, the manifestation of Christ, and Heb. i. 2; i. 23, the Word of the Living God, and Heb. iv. 12; ii. 2, the rational milk, and Heb. v. 13; ii. 5, the spiritual edifice, and Heb. iii. 6; and also the acceptable sacrifice, and Heb. iii. 15-16; ii. 7, on believers and unbelievers, and Heb. iv. 2; ii. 25, on Christ as the Shepherd of our souls, and Heb. xiii. 20; iii. 11, on the pursuit of peace, and Heb. xii. 14; iii. 21, on the testimony of conscience, and Heb. x. 22; iii. 22, at the right hand of God, and Heb. xii. 2; iv. 8, the need of mutual charity, and Heb. xiii. 1; iv. 9, of hospitality, and Heb. xiii. 2; v. 10, of Christ as the perfector, and Heb. xiii. 21; v. 11, the doxology, and Heb. xiii. 22.

F. Theology of 1 Peter.

The Holy Trinity: i. 2-3 ; iv. 14.

God: He is Father, i. 2, 3, 17; is holy, i. 15-16; His foreknowledge, i. 2, 20; is blessed, i. 3; liveth and remaineth for ever, i. 23, 25; the will of, ii. 15, iii. 17, iv. 2, 19; patience of, iii. 20; honour, glory, and power of, iv. 14; is the faithful Creator, iv. 19; the mighty hand of, v. 6; has care of us, v. 7; will exalt us in His visitation, v. 6; resists the proud, v. 5; glory to Him, v. 11; He will give eternal glory, v. 10; will perfect, establish, and confirm us, v. 10; is the God of all grace, v. 10, 12; He regenerates us by the resurrection of Christ, i. 3; by His power we are kept unto salvation, i. 5; has called us, i. 15, ii. 9, v. 10; He judges without respect of persons, i. 17; He raised and glorified Christ, i. 21; Christ is at His right hand, iii. 22; the word of God, i. 23; we are born of His word, i. 23, 25; Christ was the stone chosen and honoured by God, ii. 4; the acceptable sacrifice to God is through Christ, ii. 5; He offered us to God, iii. 18; the house of God, iv. 17; the Gospel of, iv. 17; the flock of, v. 2; we are faithful to God through Christ, i. 21; our faith and hope in God, i. 21; we must glorify God, ii. 12, iv. 16; must be subject for God's sake, ii. 13; are His servants, ii. 16; must fear Him, ii. 17; our conscience towards God, ii. 19, iii. 21; suffering is thanksworthy towards God, ii. 20; we must be spiritually rich in His sight, iii. 4; the holy women of old who trusted in God, iii. 5; we must live according to God in the spirit, iv. 6; we are stewards of His grace, iv. 10; we must speak the words of God and minister in His power, iv. 11.

Christ Jesus: the glory of His name, iv. 14, v. 16; the Lamb of God, i. 19, *cp.* ii. 23; He is the Living Stone, ii. 4; He is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, ii. 25; the Prince of Pastors, v. 4; He died once and for all for us, iii. 18; and we are ransomed by His Blood, i. 2, 19; He rose from the dead, i. 3, ii. 21. iii. 18, 21; He preached to the spirits in prison, iii. 19-20; He is at the right hand of the Father, iii. 22; the Angels are subject to Him, iii. 22; He will come again, i. 7, 13, iv. 7, 13; He will be our Judge, iv. 5, *cp.* ii. 12, v. 6; He is the Son of God, i. 3; was foreknown from eternity, i. 20; His Spirit was in the Prophets, i. 11; grace comes to us through the revelation of Christ, i. 13, 20; though we have not seen Him we have to love Him, believe in Him, and rejoice in Him, i. 8; He had no sin, i. 22, iii. 18; yet He died for our sins, i. 24, iii. 18; He suffered for our example, ii. 21; His patience, i. 23; He is sweet, ii. 3; we share in His sufferings, i. 11, iii. 18, 22, iv. 13, 14, 16, v. 1, 18; He is glorified by God, i. 21, iii. 21, v. 10; we are baptized in His resurrection, iii. 21; are His heirs, iii. 22; honour the Father through Him, iv. 11; sanctify Him in our hearts, iii. 15; our good conversation in Him, iii. 16; acceptable sacrifice through Him, i. 21; we are "Christians," iv. 16.

The Holy Spirit: His mission, i. 21; He is in the Prophets, i. 11; we are elect in Him, i. 2; the Angels have desired to look on, i. 12; we live according to God in the Spirit, iv. 6; and He rests on us, iv. 14.

Faith: its value, i. 7; we have not seen but have believed, i. 8; belief, ii. 7-8; we are kept by faith, i. 7; which, too, is tried, i. 7; it

comes by Christ's revelation, i. 11-13; we have faith and hope in God, i. 21; those who are "strong in faith," v. 9; the incredulous, iii. 20; the end of faith is our salvation, i. 9.

Hope: in God, i. 21; we are heirs of God, iii. 22; are reborn to hope, i. 3-4; the joy arising from faith and hope, i. 8, 11, iv. 13, v. 1, 4, 10; the trust to be reposed in grace, i. 13.

Charity: we have not seen Christ, but we have to love Him, i. 8; fraternal charity, i. 22, ii. 17, iii. 8, iv. 8, 10.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. PETER.

A. Brief Introduction and General View of the Contents.
B. Analysis of the Epistle.
C. Its Recipients.
D. Canonicity and Authenticity of the Second Epistle.
E. The Relationship of 2 Peter to the Epistle of Jude and the Epistle to the Hebrews.
F. The Vocabulary of the Epistle; the Vulgate Text.
G. Theology of the Epistle.
H. Bibliography of 1-2 Peter.

A. Brief Introduction and General View of the Contents.

This Epistle is expressly termed "the Second Epistle," iii. 1; but it is very different in form from the *First*. The Apostle writes not so much to combat anxious fears in presence of persecution as the insidious attacks of heretics, ii. 10-22, iii. i. 17; and of men who lave lost patience and cry out: *Where is His promise or His coming?* iii. 4. Hence he writes strongly about the folly of heresy, dwelling much on the punishments which in the past have been meted out to those who follow carnal desires and do not hesitate to "bring in sects," ii. 1.[1] He insists much on the judgment that is to come, ii. 3, 9, iii. 7, 10, 12; on the solidity of the foundation on which the faithful are built up. He himself had been an eye-witness of the Transfiguration, but *we have the more firm prophetical word, whereunto you do well*

[1] *Cf. infra*, p. 318.

to attend, i. 16-21. This teaching of St. Peter should be noted, for it is a most important testimony to the distinction between public official testimony, such as that borne by the Prophets and Apostles as formal witnesses to revealed truth, and that borne by them in what we may term their private capacity. For the Transfiguration was not like the Resurrection—a public act whereby Our Lord revealed Himself to us; it was rather a private manifestation of His divinity for the benefit of the Apostles at a time of great anxiety on their part.

St. Peter points out that his readers rest upon the knowledge they have of Christ, i. 8, ii. 20, iii. 18. He is the Saviour, i. 1, 11, ii. 20, iii. 2, 18; He *delayeth not His promise*, iii. 9, in spite of what the false prophets say, ii. 3, iii. 4. He then speaks very emphatically of the end of this world, of the general conflagration, iii. 7, 10-12; for that "day" they are to be prepared, as indeed St. Paul has warned them *in all his Epistles, which the unlearned wrest . . . as they do also the other Scriptures, to their destruction*, iii. 1-16. This testimony to St. Paul's *Epistles* as forming part of Scripture is worthy of note.

This "Second" Epistle is that of an old man, or rather of one who sees the near approach of death. St. Peter refers to this in touching terms, i. 13-14, and he sets forth his reason for writing to them: *that you may frequently have after my decease, whereby you may keep a memory of these things*, i. 15. This feature of the Epistle should be borne in mind when discussing its authenticity; it should in this respect be compared with St. Paul's *Second Epistle to Timothy* which it much resembles in tone.

B. Analysis of the Epistle.

A. i. 1-2. *The introduction: Simon Peter, servant and Apostle . . . to them that have obtained equal faith with us in the justice of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

B. i. 3-21. *Of the Christian life.*

(*a*) i. 3-11. We have received through Christ *most great and precious promises, that by these we may be made partakers of the divine nature;* hence we must practise virtue in all its forms that we may be *neither empty nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ; by good works we must make sure our election*, and thus win *entrance abundantly into the everlasting kingdom.*

(*b*) i. 12-21. And the Apostle speaks with insistence; for *the laying aside of this my tabernacle is at hand, as our Lord Jesus Christ also hath signified to me.* And he has a right to speak with authority; for what he says is no fable; he was an *eye-witness* of the Transfiguration, and heard the voice of the Father from heaven: *This is My beloved Son in Whom I have pleased Myself: hear ye Him!* Moreover, they have the sure word of prophecy to which they do well to attend, provided only they realize that *prophecy came not by the will of man at any time, but the holy men of God spoke inspired by the Holy Ghost.*

C. ii. 1-22. *Warnings regarding future heresies.*

There were false prophets of old, and so there will be in the Church—and, indeed, actually are—*lying teachers who shall bring in sects of perdition and deny the Master Who bought them.* The judgment of such will be terrible, even as was that of the Angels who fell, of those who perished in the Flood, and of the Sodomites and Gomorrhites, though God in His mercy delivered Lot from among these latter.

Those who introduce sects are like Balaam: they *are fountains without water, and clouds tossed with whirlwinds; their latter state is worse than the first,* if, having fled *from the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of Christ, they be again entangled in them and overcome.*

D. iii. 1-18. *On the ultimate fulfilment of Christ's promises.*

(*a*) iii. 1-13. This is his *second* Epistle to them, and in both he has insisted on what had been told them by the Prophets and by their Apostles touching *the precepts of the Lord and Saviour.* Yet many will come at the end and scoff, saying: *Where is His promise?* But such men forget the final destruction of all and the judgment that is to come. *The Lord delayeth not His promise, but dealeth patiently for your sake . . . willing that all should return to penance.*

(*b*) iii. 14-18. Hence they must be diligent that they may be found *undefiled and unspotted to Him in peace.* This same doctrine is taught by *our most dear brother Paul . . . in all his Epistles speaking of these things in which are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest—as they do also the other Scriptures—to their own destruction.*

C. The Recipients of the Epistle.

It is expressly termed "this Second Epistle," iii. 1; moreover, the writer refers to his previous letter and to the doctrine he had therein laid down; compare iii. 1-2 with I. i. 10-12, and *cp.*, too, ii. 5 with 1 Pet. iii. 20. Nowhere does the writer say to whom he is addressing himself; he is content to say that he is writing "to them that have obtained

equal faith with us." This is only intelligible on the supposition that the letter is—as it purports to be—addressed to the same Asian Churches as was the former Epistle. We saw reason to believe that 1 *Peter* was addressed to converts from heathenism in Asia Minor, or rather in certain Roman provinces of that country, and who were directly or indirectly disciples of St. Paul. This contention is borne out by 2 *Peter*. For the author refers expressly to "the Lord's command given by *your*[1] Apostles," iii. 2, *i.e.* Paul, Sylvanus, and Timothy; and this bears out the view upheld (*cf. Introduction to* 1 *Peter*) that St. Peter had not himself evangelized these provinces of Asia. Further still, the author of 2 *Peter* makes special reference to St. Paul's Epistles and their difficulty, iii. 15-16. And while he does not, it is true, quote those same Epistles nor show such intimate acquaintance with them as we have noticed in 1 *Peter*, yet there are certain parallel lines of thought which, taken in conjunction with the above facts, may well indicate actual reference to St. Paul's Epistles; thus note the curiously similar construction in i. 5-8 and Rom. v. 1-5, and compare in the Greek text ii. 19 with Rom. vi. 16; perhaps, too, iii. 10 with 1 Thess. v. 2; also iii. 4 with 1 Tim. iv. 1, and—perhaps most noticeable of all—i. 20-21 with 2 Tim. iii. 16. We call this the "most noticeable of all," because 2 *Peter* and 2 *Timothy* are explicitly the last messages of the two Princes of the Apostles. It is at least not inconceivable that St. Peter should have seen and read 2 *Timothy*, though the dependence may have been the other way, *i.e.* St. Paul dependent on 2 *Peter*.

Granting, then, that 2 *Peter* is really a letter written, as it purports to be, by St. Peter as a sequel to 1 *Peter* and towards the close of his life, we may ask whether any particular reason for writing had arisen. 1 *Peter* was a consolatory Epistle addressed to people who felt the strain of attempting to lead a Christian life amidst uncongenial surroundings. The *Second Epistle* seems to show that a very disorderly element was present in the Asian Churches, comparable indeed to the state of affairs indicated in 2 *Corinthians*. For though St. Peter seems at times to

[1] The *Textus receptus* has "our," but all the Latin texts, as well as the best Greek MSS., have "your."

speak of heresies which inevitably will arise at a later period, ii. 1, iii. 3, yet the whole context seems to make it plain that he is dealing with an emergency that actually has arisen ; in fact, iii. 16 is positive on this point. If this, then, be a description of what was actually going on in the Asian Churches, we can gather that there were amongst them men given over to the lusts of the flesh, ii. 10, 13, 14, 18, 19, iii. 4, for it is hardly possible to suppose that all these are merely metaphorical expressions. That, as a natural consequence of this, they were demanding what they spoke of as "liberty," ii. 19. The same men, or perhaps others, were petulantly asking, "Where is His promise?" iii. 4, *cf.* 9 and 13, and, consequently, hindering others from living as men should do for whom these promises were a reality. In this respect there is a curious similarity between 2 *Peter* and 2 *Timothy*, for both letters are overshadowed with gloomy anticipations of the troubles that were to arise, and of which the Apostles were already experiencing the advance guard.

Against the above view, which maintains the authenticity of 2 *Peter*, it has always been urged that this "Second" Epistle differs so much from 1 *Peter* that it can hardly emanate from the same writer. It is the same problem as that which is presented to us in the case of the *Apocalypse*. Yet we have to be on our guard against exaggeration here. Certainly the two Epistles do differ, but the difference is nowhere near so remarkable as that between the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and the other Pauline Epistles. Differences of scribes or translators may account for much. But apart from this, there is still room for the play of personal circumstances. For, after all, what do we know of the circumstances under which any given letter was written? Absolutely nothing. Yet to read some critics one would imagine that unless a letter-writer always worked in the same fashion and adhered to the same style, his work became forthwith suspect!

D. The Canonicity and Authenticity of 2 Peter.

It is the custom to throw doubts on the authenticity of this Epistle. *St. Jerome*, however, indicates the reasons

which have led men to question its Petrine origin when he says: "Denique et duæ Epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et charactere discrepant, structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum, diversis eum usum interpretibus";[1] he has just mentioned the fact that Titus acted as Paul's amanuensis, as Mark too did for Peter. Working backwards from St. Jerome's time, we find this *Second Epistle of St. Peter* constantly quoted, and also referred to as the work of St. Peter. Thus *St. Cyril of Alexandria* makes formal use of it in refuting the Nestorian heresy.[2]

St. Cyril of Jerusalem refers to iii. 13,[3] and quotes i. 4 as spoken by "the Blessed Peter."[4] So, too, *St. Cyprian* quotes ii. 11-12 as in "the Epistle of Peter."[5] *Origen*, besides referring to the *seven* Catholic Epistles,[6] quotes "Peter, in his *first* Epistle"[7] and elsewhere he quotes 2 Pet. i. 2 as "Peter in his Epistle."[8] *Tertullian's* allusions to 2 *Peter* are very doubtful; he may refer to iii. 7 on two occasions,[9] and elsewhere we seem to have a reminiscence of ii. 5, 6-9 and iii. 16.[10] *Hippolytus of Portus* certainly quotes i. 21.[11] *St. Irenæus*, like Tertullian, only has doubtful references; thus he twice quotes the words, "a thousand years with the Lord is as one day"; as he gives it, this phrase might be a quotation of 2 Pet. iii. 8, or perhaps of Ps. lxxxix. 4, though the Greek is almost exactly that of St. Peter.[12] For *Clement of Alexandria* see above.[13] *Theophilus of Antioch* gives no precise quotation, but when speaking of prophecy his words recall very significantly 2 Pet. i. 21 and i. 19.[14]

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[1] *Ep.* CXX. xi, *Ad Hedibiam*, *P.L.* XXII. 1002; *cp.* on Isa. lxv. 8, *P.L.* XXIV. 636, where St. Jerome quotes 2 Pet. ii. as "in Catholica Epistola."

[2] *Ap.* Mansi, *Concilia*, IV. 731.

[3] *Catech.* XVIII. 15; *P.G.* XXXIII. 1034.

[4] *Ibid.* XXII. 3.

[5] *Testim.* III. 11.

[6] *Hom.* VII. 1, *in Josue*, *P.G.* XII. 857, *cf. supra*, *s.v. Catholic Epistles.*

[7] *De Principiis*, II. v. 3, *P.G.* XI. 206.

[8] *Lib.* VIII. 7 *in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 1179; *cp. Lib.* IV. 9.

[9] *De Cultu Feminarum*, II. 2; *De Baptismo*, VIII.

[10] *Adv. Judæos*, II, *P.L.* II. 600; *De Jejuniis*, XI, *ib.* 968.

[11] *De Christo et Antichristo*, II.

[12] *Adv. Hær.* V. xxiii. 2, xxviii. 3 (Greek), *P.G.* VII. 1186 and 1200; *cp.* IV. xxxvi. 4, *ib.* 1093, where the allusions to Noe are reminiscent of 2 Pet. ii. 4-7.

[13] *S.v. Catholic Epistles*; note, too, *Cohortatio*, *P.G.* VIII. 223, where 2 Pet. ii. 2 is quoted as "Scripture."

[14] *Ad Autolycum*, II. 9 and 13, *cp.* 2 Pet. i. 21 and 19; *P.L.* VI. 1063 and 1074.

St. Justin, like Theophilus, seems to be reminiscent of 2 Pet. ii. 1 and i. 21 when speaking of prophecy;[1] he has the same possible quotation of iii. 8 as St. Irenæus.[2] The *Muratorian Fragment* mentions neither the *First* nor the *Second Epistle of Peter*, but it explicitly rejects the *Apocalypse of Peter;* this latter interesting document was discovered at Akhmim in 1886, and has no less than eighteen parallels to 2 *Peter* and four to the *Epistle of Jude*. The *Pastor of Hermas* may have some slight echoes of 2 Pet. ii. 15, 20 in *Vis.* iii. 7 and iv. 3. Even less, perhaps, can be said of the reputed echoes of 2 *Peter* in *Clement of Rome*, 1 Cor. vii., ix., xi., where the allusions to Noe, to Lot, and the people of Sodom recall 2 Pet. ii. 5-9. But such allusions may have been a commonplace. *St. Polycarp* may perhaps refer to 2 Pet. iii. 15 when he speaks of "the wisdom of the Blessed Paul."[3] The *Epistle of Barnabas* has a possible echo of 2 Pet. i. 6 in chap. ii., while in chap. xv. we have the familiar quotation of iii. 8 in a form far removed from Ps. lxxxix. 4, and even closer to 2 *Peter* than the same quotation as given by St. Justin and St. Irenæus.

It must be acknowledged, then, that anything like positive trace of 2 *Peter* is wanting in literature earlier than the middle of the second century; and even the allusions or signs of acquaintance with it which we may be able to trace in St. Justin and in Theophilus of Antioch must be taken with considerable reservation. But after that period not only is the Epistle well known, but it is regularly quoted as the work of St. Peter.[4]

Eusebius' words should be noted as given above, p. 306.

E. The Relationship of 2 Peter to the Epistle of Jude and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

One of the most interesting features of this Epistle from the literary point of view is the close relationship subsisting between it and the *Epistle of St. Jude*, *q.v.* It will suffice here to call attention to the following parallels:

[1] *Dialogue*, LXXXII, *P.G.* VI. 670-671.
[2] *Dialogue*, LXXXI, *ib.* 670.
[3] *Ad Phil.* iii. 2.
[4] See the two Cyrils, Origen, and Cyprian, as quoted above. See also St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxx. 25, *P.G.* XLI. 447, where 2 Pet. iii. 15 is quoted; St. Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, I. vi. (80), *P.L.* XVI. 723, where the *Second* Epistle is quoted as "Petrus Apostolus dixit"; so, too, St. Jerome *in Isa.* lxv. 8, *P.L.* XXIV. 636, where 2 Pet. ii. 7 is quoted under the formula "in Catholica Epistola," *cp. Ep.* LIII. 8, *P.L.* XXII. 548; similarly, St. Augustine constantly—*e.g. De Nuptiis*, II. iii. 8, *P.L.* XLIV. 440; *De Fide et Operibus*, xiv (22), *P.L.* XL. 212, and *De Civitate Dei*, xx. 18, *P.L.* XLI. 684.

2 Peter.		*Jude.*
i. 12	and	5.
ii. 1	,,	19.
ii. 1	,,	4.
ii. 3	,,	4.
ii. 6	,,	7.
ii. 10	,,	8.

2 Peter.		*Jude.*
ii. 11	and	9.
ii. 12	,,	10.
ii. 13	,,	12.
ii. 15	,,	11.
ii. 17	,,	12-13.
iii. 3	,,	18.

The relationship between 2 *Peter* and *Hebrews* is not clear, but compare in the Greek text i. 5 and Heb. vi. 11; i. 11 and Heb. x. 19; i. 15, iii. 2, and Heb. xiii. 7; ii. 21 and Heb. vi. 4, x. 26; iii. 5 and Heb. xi. 3.

Indeed, the similarity between the thought of St. Peter and of St. Paul and St. Luke is far more marked than is generally thought. Thus *cp.* i. 13, "the loins girt," with Luke xii. 35; i. 19-20, on Christ as foreknown, and Rom. i. 3; ii. 1, "laying aside malice," and Rom. vi. 4; ii. 11, on carnal desires, and Rom. xiii. 14; ii. 13, on subjection to the higher powers, and Rom. xii. 10, xiii. 1; ii. 17, on fear of God, and Titus ii. 9; iii. 1, on the subjection of wives, and Eph. v. 22, Col. iii. 18; iii. 2, on the adornment of women, and 1 Tim. ii. 9; iii. 1, on the duty of wives to convert their heathen husbands, and 1 Cor. vii.; iii. 7, on the duty of prayer, and 1 Cor. vii.; iii. 18, on Christ's death, and 1 Cor. xv.; iv. 2, on living in the flesh according to the will of God, and Eph. iv. 23; iv. 10, on stewardship of grace, and Phil. ii. 14, 1 Cor. iv. 2; v. 7, on the flock of God, and Acts xx. 28; so too v. 3, on "lording it over the flock," and Acts xx. 25-29.

F. The Vocabulary of 2 Peter.

A long list might be drawn up of the words and forms peculiar to this Epistle in the New Testament. But a close examination of it would show that by far the greater number of these forms are derived from the LXX, or are even classical, though rare. Noticeable forms are *ἀκατάπαυστος*, ii. 14; *ἄσπιλος*, iii. 14, Jude, Jas. i. 27, and in inscriptions of the third century B.C.; *ἀστήρικτος*, ii. 14, iii. 16; *αὐχμήρος*, i. 19 and *Apoc. of Peter*, vi.; *βλέμμα*, ii. 8, very rare and late; *δελεαζόντες*, ii. 14, 18 and Jas. i. 14; *ἐγκατοικέω*, ii. 8, rare, though classical; *ἑκάστοτε*, i. 15 and in late papyri; *ἔκπαλαι*, ii. 3, iii. 5; *ἐμπαιγμονή*, iii. 3, *cf.* *ἐμπαιγμός*, Heb. xi. 36, and *ἐμπαίζω*, iii. 3, Jude 18; *ἐμπακέντες* ii. 20, *cf.* 1 Pet. iii. 3; *ἐντρυφῶντες*, ii. 13, a late word; *ἐπαγγέλματα*, i. 4, iii. 13; *ἐπιλύσις*, i. 20, rare and late; *ἐπόπτης*, i. 16, *cf.* 1 Pet. ii. 12, iii. 2 for the verb; *ἰσότιμος*, i. 1; *ζόφος*, ii. 4, 17, Jude 6, 13, rare and

late; μυωπάζω, i. 9; μῶμος, ii. 13; παρεισηνέγκαντες, i. 5; πλάστος, ii. 3; ῥοιζηδόν, iii. 10, very rare and late; στηριγμός, iii. 17; στρεβλόω, iii. 16; συνευωχουμένοι, ii. 13 and Jude 12; ταρταρόω, ii. 4; ταχινός, i. 14; τεφρόω, ii. 6; τήκεται, iii. 12, apparently a quotation of the LXX of Isa. xxxiv. 4; ὑπέρογκα, ii. 18 and Jude 16.

The Vulgate Text of the Epistle.—In i. 2, 7, 8, iii. 4 we have minor additions of no importance; in i. 10 "per bona opera" is added; in ii. 4 "detractos" and "cruciandos" are amplications, *cf.* ver. 9. In iii. 9, "as some imagine" should rather be "as some count delay," for βραδυτῆτα has been passed over. In ii. 10 we have a translation which seems undoubtedly mistaken—"sectas non metuunt introducere blasphemantes"—for δόξα nowhere else in N.T. signifies "a sect," but rather "the good opinion or reputation of people." Moreover, the parallel in Jude 8 is rightly rendered "majestatem autem blasphemantes," as the context indeed demands. We have several examples of varying renderings of the same Greek word; thus, in i. 17, 18, 21 ἐνεχθείσης is given as "delapsa" and "allata"; in i. 6 ἐγκρατείᾳ by "abstinentia" instead of "continentia"; in i. 12 οὐκ ἀμελήσω by "incipiam"; in ii. 1 "Dominus" should rather be "Magister" for δεσπότης; in ii. 10 and 13 "coinquinationes" stands for μιασμάτα and σπίλοι. In ii. 13 "conviviis," as shown by the parallel in Jude 12, is right, and the Greek ἀπάταις is a misreading of ἀγάπαις.

G. The Theology of 2 Peter.

God: is the Father, i. 17; His glory, i. 3; His power, i. 3; His promises through Christ, i. 4; His calling, i. 3, 10; the world "consists" by the word of, iii. 5-7; the patience of God, iii. 9, 15; He desires repentance, iii. 9; the "day of the Lord," iii. 10, 12; He knows how to free the ungodly, ii. 9; He delivered Lot, ii. 7; the Flood, ii. 5; spared not the Angels, ii. 4, 11; holy men of God, ii. 1, iii. 2; knowledge of God, i. 2-3.

Jesus Christ: is God, i. 1; is Saviour, i. 1, 11, ii. 20, iii. 2, 14; His majesty, i. 16; power, i. 16; presence, i. 16; glory to Him, iii. 18; promises through Him, i. 4, iii. 4, 9, 13; His kingdom, i. 11; His precepts, iii. 2; Peter is His Apostle, i. 1; He has foretold to Peter his end, i. 14; Peter was an eye-witness of His Transfiguration, i. 16-18; He was transfigured by the power of the Father, i. 17; He has redeemed us, ii. 1; knowledge of Him, i. 2, 8, ii. 20, iii. 18; we must be unspotted in Him, iii. 14; His Second Coming, iii. 4, 12.

The Holy Spirit: inspired the Scriptures, i. 21.

Certain doctrinal points are very clearly set forth in 2 *Peter*, *e.g.* on the nature of grace, i. 4; the positive reference to the Transfiguration, i. 16-18; on the nature of Biblical inspiration, i. 20-21; on the ultimate destruction of the heavens and earth by fire, iii. 7, 10, 12; on the Day of Judgment, ii. 9, iii. 7, *cp.* i. 19, and the expression "day of the Lord," iii. 10, 12, 18; the strange remark about the

Angels in ii. 11, *cp.* Jude 9, and *Introduction to the Epistle of Jude, infra.* But it is uncritical to see in these points a mark of a later date so long as the reference, possibly to the descent into hell, is acknowledged to be by St. Peter in 1 Pet. iii. 19-20. The same must be said of the reference to "the kingdom of Christ," i. 11, for this can almost be paralleled from Heb. xii. 28, 2 Tim. iv. 1, 18, and Jas. ii. 5.

H. Bibliography.

Patristic: Didymus of Alexandria, a Latin translation with a few Greek fragments, *P.G.* XXXIX; Œcumenius, *P.G.* CXIX. In recent times: Plumptre in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 1880; Bigg in the *International Critical Commentary, St. Peter and St. Jude;* Lightfoot in his *Commentary on the Galatians;* Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 432 *ff.*, *St. Paul the Traveller, passim;* Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 360-368; Fouard, *The First Years of Christianity*, 1907; Zahn, *Introduction N.T.* II.; also articles in *R.B.*, October, 1905, and in *J.T.S.*, January, 1910, p. 310, on 2 *Peter and Jude.*

THE EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN

THE FIRST EPISTLE.

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THE SECOND EPISTLE.

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THE FIRST EPISTLE.

A. The Theme of the Epistle.

The dramatic tone so noticeable in St. John's *Gospel* and in the *Apocalypse* betrays itself in this *Epistle*. The writer proceeds by a series of antitheses. He sets in opposition light and darkness, faith and unfaith, Christ and Antichrist, the faithful and the world, the children of God and those of

the devil, confidence and fear, love and hatred, etc. The key-word is "fellowship" with God and Christ His Son, i. 3, 6, 7, and this, too, is expressed by the recurrent word "abide," so characteristic of St. John's Gospel. *God is light*, i. 5; therefore, if we would have fellowship with Him, we must walk in the light. And to walk in the light demands *knowledge* of God, ii. 3-5, which knowledge must be of the practical kind, *viz.* obedience to His commands, ii. 3. The true way to walk in the light is to love the brethren, ii. 15. They must beware of false teachers, who would seduce them from true knowledge of Christ, ii. 18-28. Again, God is just, ii. 29; we too, then, must be just, and must therefore sanctify ourselves, iii. 3. And this means the avoidance of sin, iii. 4-10, as well as love of the brethren, iii. 11-17. This leads him to speak of faith, iii. 23, and he points out that we know that Christ abideth in us by the witness of the Spirit within us, iii. 24. Once more he speaks of false teachers, iv. 1-6; but the remedy is love of God and of the brethren, iv. 7-12. Again he dwells on faith, iv. 13-16, then once more on love, iv. 17-v. 3, and finally again on faith, v. 4-12. In this faith and love is rooted all true Christian confidence, v. 13-21.

We spoke of "fellowship" as the key-word; it would be true to say that "life" was even more so. This peculiarly Johannine word—it occurs some thirty-five times in his *Gospel* and fifteen times in the *Apocalypse*—forms a perpetual refrain in the *Epistle*, where it occurs some thirteen times. And "life" in the mouth of St. John is not merely this passing life, but that "eternal life" in which this fleeting life is to be merged. It is this concept of "life" that gives the calm, assured, authoritative tone to all that John writes. This concept alone serves to differentiate the Johannine writings from all others in the New Testament. And this doctrine is set in clearer light by St. John's characteristic diction. His sentences are not "telescopic," as St. Paul's have so well been termed. John passes from one thought to another, not so much by reason of any logical connection, as by reason of the all-pervading medium through which he views them; he sees—as St. Augustine and St. Thomas would express it—*in speculo Æternitatis*, and it is this frame of mind which he would form in his readers; indeed, it is the

only frame of mind in which we can approach his writings if we would enter into their true spirit.

It is quite in accordance with this that the Epistle should be characterized by an indefinable air of sadness; sin and heresy seem to be, so to speak, in the air. Thus: sin is in us, i. 8-10, ii. 1, iii. 4, 6, 9, v. 16-17; it must be confessed, i. 9; it is iniquity, iii. 4; is of the devil, iii. 8; there is a sin unto death, v. 16-17; in Christ there is no sin, iii. 5; neither in them that are "born of God," iii. 9, v. 18; Christ cleanses us from sin, i. 9, iii. 5; He forgives sin, i. 9; it is forgiven for His name's sake, ii. 12; He is the propitiation for sin, ii. 2; and is our advocate, ii. 1. Then there is the haunting picture of Antichrist: he cometh, ii. 18, iv. 3; nay, he has already come, iv. 3; there are many Antichrists, ii. 18; he denies the Father and the Son, ii. 22, iv. 3, *cp.* 2 John 7; he is overcome by the faithful, iv. 4. The devil, too, is a reality: he is the "wicked one," iii. 12; sin is of him, iii. 8; he sinned from the beginning, iii. 8; he shall be destroyed by Christ, iii. 8. Heretics, seducers, false prophets, are everywhere, ii. 19, 26, iv. 1; idolatrous worship is prevalent—if that, indeed, is the meaning of the phrase in v. 21; the "last hour" is sounding, ii. 18; and the Day of Judgment is to come, iv. 17; the faithful need faith, v. 4; holiness, iii. 3; and the spirit of fear, iv. 18.

On the supposition that this *First Epistle* is practically contemporary with 2-3 *John*, wherein the writer speaks of himself as "the Ancient," this tone of sadness is intelligible. For the aged Apostle must have seen the rise of various heresies such as he hints at in his *Apocalypse*, and such as we know from tradition motived him to commit his *Gospel* to writing. But in what relation does this *Epistle* stand to the *Fourth Gospel?* It is often suggested that it was meant as a species of *Prologue* to it, though no sufficient reasons for this view are put forward. It really seems as though this *Epistle* quotes the *Fourth Gospel*, *cf. infra*, and note particularly i. 1-3 and John i. 1-14; i. 5 and John viii. 12; iii. 5 and John viii. 46; iii. 16 and John xv. 13; iv. 9 and John iii. 16. Note, too, the constant references to "Him Who is from the beginning," ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ii. 7, 13, 14, 24 bis, iii. 11, and *cp.* John viii. 25; yet at the same time *cf.* 1 John iii. 8.

If this be correct, then it would seem that in these three Epistles we have the last echoes of the Apostle's voice.

B. Analysis of the Epistle.

A. i. 1-14. *The fundamental fact: The Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us.*

B. i. 5-ii. 17. *We must abide in God;* sin is the sole obstacle to this.
- (*a*) i. 5-10. God is light; sin is darkness. Therefore sin is incompatible with fellowship with God.
- (*b*) ii. 1-6. The remedy for sin is Christ Who is the propitiation for sin.
- (*c*) ii. 7-11. The proof that we are *in the light* is our brotherly love.
- (*d*) ii. 12-17. We must not love the world, which *passeth away.*

C. ii. 18-iv. 6. *The conflict between truth and falsehood.*
- (*a*) ii. 18-29. We have a revelation of the truth, *viz.* the indwelling Spirit.
- (*b*) iii. 1-12. The difference between the "children of God" and the "children of the devil."
- (*c*) iii. 13-24. Brotherly love; the world is against us, but God is for us.
- (*d*) iv. 1-6. The spirit of truth and the spirit of error.

D. iv. 7-v. 21. *The true Christian life.*
- (*a*) iv. 7-21. Brotherly love.
- (*b*) v. 1-12. Our strength lies in our belief in the Messiahship of Jesus and in His divinity.
- (*c*) v. 14-21. The Christian's true source of confidence lies in the possession of all these truths.

C. Place and Date of Composition.

We have no information regarding the *place* whence St. John wrote this Epistle. But we cannot be far wrong in assigning it to that sojourn at Ephesus of which St. Irenæus tells us: "John, the disciple of the Lord . . . did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia."[1] As to the *date* at which it was written, we can only guess that since the Antichrists and heretics, ii. 22-23, iv. 2-3, v. 1, are apparently *Docetæ*, *viz.* men who denied that Christ was really God in the flesh, and who pretended that His flesh was but in appearance, the Epistle must be subsequent to their appearance in Asia, *viz.* towards the close of the first century.[2]

D. The Recipients of the Epistle.

Docetic views were in vogue in Asia, and indeed probably all over the East. But there is no reason for supposing that

[1] *Adv. Hær.* III. i. 1.

[2] *Cp.* St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. iii. 4; *H.E.* III. xxiii; and Clement of Alexandria, *Quis Dives?* xlii.

St. John's *Epistle* was directed further afield than to those Churches of Asia which came under his ken and jurisdiction, *cp.* Apoc. i. 11. The writer had no doubt whatever as to the reception his words would meet with. He does not even think it needful to give his name, with which fact *cp.* Apoc. i. 1, 9. His readers then, just as we now, were to know the writer from his whole tone and style. St. Augustine's *Tractatus* on this Epistle bears the title *In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos*, so, too, Cassiodorus, *De Div. Instit.* xiv; but Augustine gives us no hint in the course of his exposition as to the origin of this title. Still, we cannot attribute it to a mistake by later copyists, for it does not occur in all MSS. of his works, and Augustine himself speaks of the *Epistle* under the same title elsewhere.[1] The Ven. Bede refers to this title in his *Prologue* to the *Seven Catholic Epistles*, and remarks that Athanasius as well as Augustine used it. Some fancy that it is due to a corruption either of πρὸς παρθένους, "to the virgins,"[2] or of Ἰωάννου τοῦ παρθένου, "of John the virgin," as he was so frequently styled.[3]

E. The Canonicity of 1 John.

Eusebius[4] classes this Epistle among the "undisputed" books; he also quotes it under the name of "John."[5] Denis of Alexandria urges its Johannine authorship as an argument against the Johannine authorship of the *Apocalypse*.[6] St. Cyprian quotes it as "the Apostle John in his Epistle."[7] It should be noted that this form of expression must not be taken as precluding a knowledge of other Epistles by John, for St. Cyprian speaks also of "Paul in his Epistle,"[8] and of "Peter in his Epistle."[9] Tertullian frequently quotes the

[1] *Quæst. in Evangel.* II. xxxix. 1, *P.L.* xxxv. 1353.

[2] Note in this connection the curious statement preserved in a Latin fragment of the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria which Eusebius so often refers to and which is unfortunately lost: Clement says, "Secunda Joannis Epistola, quæ ad virgines scripta simplicissima est; scripta vero est ad quandam Babyloniam Electam nomine, significat autem electionem Ecclesiæ sanctæ." We know from Eusebius, *H.E.* VI. xiv. 1, that Clement commented on "Jude and the rest of the canonical Epistles."

[3] *Cf.* St. Jerome, *Ep.* CXXVII. 5; *Adv. Jovin.* I. 26; *in Isaiam*, lvi. 5; *P.L.* XXII. 1090, XXIII. 259, XXV. 541.

[4] *H.E.* III. xxv. 2. [5] *Ibid.* xxiv. 17. [6] *Ibid.* VII. viii. 7.

[7] *Ep.* xxiv. 2. [8] *Ep.* li. 18. [9] *Ep.* lv. 2.

First Epistle as the work of "the Apostle John";[1] the same must be said of Clement of Alexandria[2] and of St. Irenæus.[3] The latter, after speaking of the Fourth Gospel as the work of "John, the disciple of the Lord," immediately proceeds to quote 1 John ii. 18-22. It is hard to resist the impression, too, that St. Justin is quoting 1 John ii. 3 and iii. 1 when he says, "We are called and are the true sons of God, and we keep the commandments of Christ."[4] Earlier in the second century Papias, as Eusebius expressly tells us, made use of the First Epistle;[5] while about the middle of the century we have the *Muratorian Fragment*, which assigns it a place in the canon.[6] In the apostolic age the testimony of St. Polycarp[7] seems clear, though doubts are often thrown upon it. Thus the words, "For everyone that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is Antichrist," are almost a quotation of 1 John iv. 2-3; and this is rendered more evident by the fact that almost immediately after we find Polycarp saying that Christ endured His Passion "for our sakes, that we may live in Him," *cp.* 1 John iv. 9. Further back than this it is hardly possible to go, for such resemblances as appear in St. Ignatius, *Eph.* xvi. and *Smyrn.* v., to 1 John iii. 2 and iv. 2-3 may be merely echoes of language in common use amongst Christians who had listened to St. John preaching.

As St. Augustine forcibly expresses it when adjuring his hearers to put in practice what this Epistle teaches: "Lo, brethren, here you have the Scriptures of God! For this Epistle is canonical; it is read throughout the peoples of the earth; we hold to it on the authority of the entire world, and it in turn has built up the entire world."[8]

[1] *Scorpiace*, xii; *Adv. Marcionem*, V. 16; *cp. De Fuga*, ix, *P.L.* II. 112.

[2] *Quis Dives?* xxxviii.; and frequently in the *Stromateis*. Note how Pope Eutychian, A.D. 276-284, *Ep.* IIda. *ad Episcopos Siciliæ*, quotes 1 John iv-v as "John the Evangelist, in his 'First Epistle.'" There seems no solid reason for doubting the authenticity of these letters of Pope Eutychian; *cf.* Mansi, *Concilia*, IV. 731.

[3] *Adv. Hær.* III. xvi. 5.

[4] *Dialogue*, cxxiii.

[5] *H.E.* III. xxxix. 16.

[6] See vol. ii, pp. 88-90.

[7] *Ad Philippenses*, vii-viii.

[8] *Tract.* VII. 5 *in* 1 *Joan.*, *P.L.* XXV. 2031. By "the entire world," "orbis terrarum," Augustine of course understands here, as elsewhere, the universal Church.

There has never been any serious attempt to deny the apostolic origin of the Epistle. Nearly all early writers attribute it to "John"; many expressly assign it to "John the Apostle"; Denis of Alexandria was apparently the first to throw doubts on the identity of this "John" with the Apostle, and this merely to avoid attributing the *Apocalypse* to the author of the *Gospel* and the *Epistle*; the two latter he never hesitated to regard as the work of "John, the disciple of the Lord."

The similarity in thought and diction to the *Gospel* of St. John will be apparent to the most casual reader. Such words as "truth," "abide," "the world," "life," "light," "charity," occur again and again. In particular we may note such expressions as "sons of God," iii. 1, 2, iv. 6, 9, 10, and John i. 12; "in the beginning," ii. 13, 14 (Greek), 24, iii. 11, and John i. 1, viii. 25, 44; the teaching on brotherly love, iii. 10, etc., and John xv. 17; the "new commandment," ii. 7-8, and John xiii. 34, xv. 12; the doctrine of "eternal life," iii. 15, v. 20, and John xvii. 3; the teaching concerning the devil, ii. 14, iii. 8, 10, v. 18-19, and John xii. 31, xiv. 30; that he was a liar from the beginning, iii. 8, and John viii. 44; note, too, the use of the word "liar," i. 10, ii. 4, 22, iv. 20, v. 10, and John viii. 44; on our victory over the world, v. 4-5, and John xvi. 23.

F. The Latin Text of the Epistle.

In the Greek text of ii. 14 the opening words of ver. 13—with "I wrote" for "I write"—are repeated: "I wrote to you, fathers, for you have known Him Who was from the beginning." The next clause—still with "I wrote" for "I write"—is repeated in the Vulgate as well as in the Greek. In iv. 4 the printed Vulgate, *viz.* the Sixtine and Clementine, as well as Amiatinus and another good MS., have "eum" for "eos," with a consequent lack of sequence. In v. 6 the Vulgate has "Christus" for "Spiritus." In v. 8 the Latin seems to miss the force of the Greek *εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν*, and renders it "unum sunt," as in the preceding verse, where the existing Greek text—whatever be its value—has simply *ἕν εἰσιν*, which would be true of the Holy Trinity. In v. 13 the ordinary Greek text has an additional clause which the Vulgate—and apparently rightly—omits. In v. 17 the Greek text reads, "there is a sin *not* unto death," but the Latin, apparently unanimously, omits the negative.

The "Authenticity" of 1 John v. 7.—The text in Greek runs as follows: *Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ,] τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν.*

The case against the authenticity of the words in brackets could hardly be stated more forcibly than in *Scrivener-Miller*.[1]

"The authenticity of the words in brackets will, perhaps, no longer be maintained by anyone whose judgment ought to have weight. . . . The controverted words are not met with in any of the current uncials (ℵ ABKLP) or in any cursives besides those named above (he enumerates 193 cursive MSS. in which they are found). The aspect of things is not materially altered when we consult the versions. The disputed clause is not in any manuscript of the Peshitto, nor in the best editions (*e.g.* Lee's); the Harkleian, Sahidic, Bohairic, Ethiopic, Arabic do not contain it in any shape; scarcely any Armenian codex exhibits it, and only a few recent Slavonic copies, the margin of a Moscow edition of 1663 being the first to represent it. The Latin versions, therefore, alone lend it any support, and even these are much divided. . . . . On the whole, therefore, we need not hesitate to declare our conviction that the disputed words were not written by St. John; that they were originally brought into Latin copies in Africa from the margin, where they had been placed as a pious and orthodox gloss on ver. 8; that from the Latin they crept into two or three late Greek codices, and thence into the printed Greek text, a place to which they had no rightful claim."

It is only fair, however, to set out what evidence there is for the text, so that a student can arrive at his own conclusions. The view generally held since Künstle published his treatise on the question[2] is that the passage crept into the margin of Spanish Vulgate Bibles and thence into the text, and so in time into Greek manuscripts.[3]

On the other hand, upholders of this view must reckon with certain facts:

St. Cyprian writes:[4] "Dicit Dominus 'Ego et Pater unum sumus.' Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: 'Et hi tres unum sunt.'" Notice "scriptum est." Again:[5] "Si baptizare quis apud hæreticos potuit, si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est, quæro cujus Dei? Si Creatoris, non potuit, qui in eum non credidit; si Christi, nec hujus fieri potuit templum, qui negat Deum Christum; si Spiritus Sancti, cum tres unum sunt, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est?"

Similarly, Cyprian's "master," Tertullian: "Ita connexus Patris in

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[1] *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 4th *ed.*, 1894, vol. ii, pp. 401-405.

[2] *Das Comma Johanneum.*

[3] Chapman, *Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, p. 263, Clarendon Press, 1908.

[4] *De Unitate*, V.

[5] *Ad Jubaianum, Ep.* lxxiii.

Filio, et Filii in Paracleto tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero, qui tres unum sunt."[1]

St. Augustine may well be called St. Cyprian's defender.[2] It is true that he never quotes the passage in his *De Trinitate* nor elsewhere where he might be expected to do so;[3] but it is dangerous to push this argument too far, since it would prove him ignorant of such a Trinitarian text as 2 Cor. xiii. 13, which he never quotes in these treatises, and even perhaps of such a passage as Matt. xxviii. 19. Moreover, Augustine seems to have reminiscences of the passage which are hard to explain away, *e.g.* "Deus summus et verus cum Verbo suo et Spiritu Sancto, quæ tria unum sunt."[4]

The staunchest defender of the doctrine of the Trinity against the Arians in Africa was St. Fulgentius, *d.* 532. He is steeped in Augustine's writings, and he quotes 1 John v. 7 three times, and once he has an allusion to it.[5] In one of these passages he quotes words of St. Cyprian which immediately precede the very passage of St. Cyprian given above: "In Patre ergo et Filio et Spiritu Sancto unitatem substantiæ accipimus, Personas confundere non audemus. Beatus enim Joannes Apostolus testatur dicens: 'Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus; et tres unum sunt.' Quod enim Beatissimus martyr Cyprianus, in *Epistola de Unitate Ecclesiæ* confitetur dicens: 'Qui pacem Christi. . . .'" And then follow the words with which St. Cyprian introduces what we have regarded above as a quotation of 1 John v. 7.[6]

Still keeping to Africa, we have preserved for us in the *Historia Persecutionis*[7] of Victor Vitensis the actual Profession of Faith which the Catholic Episcopate of Africa drew up in A.D. 486 for the Arian vandal kings, and in it, among other arguments for the Trinity, 1 John v. 7 is given in full. Is it conceivable that these Bishops would have made use of a text about the authenticity of which there was a shadow of doubt?

Those, then, who hold that this text crept into the Epistle from Spanish MSS. of the Vulgate must explain how it comes to pass that Tertullian, Cyprian, and indeed the

[1] *Adv. Praxean*, xxv.

[2] *Cp. De Baptismo.*

[3] *E.g. Inchoata Expositio in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.L.* XXXV. 2095-2096.

[4] *De Civitate Dei*, V. xi., *cp. Tract.* xxxvi. 10 *in Joan.* In *Contra Maximinum*, II. xxiii., *P.L.* XLII. 792-795, we have what is often regarded as a mystical application of our ver. 8—the three earthly witnesses—to the Trinity, from which it might be argued that Augustine had not our ver. 7 before him. We do not press the argument from the *Speculum* at Santa Croce, which Wiseman maintained was really the work of St. Augustine; if it is his, then, as our verse is there quoted three times, the case is settled.

[5] *De Trinitate ad Felicem; Adv. Pintam pro Fide Catholica*, viii.; in the *Contra Fastidiosum* we have a reminiscence of the text; *Contra Objectiones Arianorum*, *Resp. ad* 1 *Om et ult. objectionem.*

[6] *Contra Obiectiones Arianorum.*

[7] *Lib.* III. xi.

entire African Church, show what, in some cases at least, looks like a positive acquaintance with this verse, and in others a reminiscence of it.

The text appears in the Latin Vulgate as a rule, though not in the best MSS., *e.g. Amiatinus.* Where it does appear there is as often as not a transposition, so that our present ver. 8 precedes ver. 7. As an instance of this we append the text of *Cod. Cavensis*, preserved at Monte Cava, near Naples, and assigned by Cardinal Mai to the seventh century:

Quoniam quod natum est ex Deo vincit mundum
(Et hæc est victoria quæ vincit mundum)

Et arius prædicat creaturam. Fides nra. Quis est autem qui vincit mundum nisi
qui credit quia Ihs filius dei est. hic est qui venit
per aquam et sanguinem et spm Ihs xps
Et non in aqua solum sed in aqua et sanguine et spu.

Si veritas quomodo creatura quam creatura vera esse possit. denique de nullo angelorum legitur quod veritus sit. Spiritus est qui testificatur. qam Ihs est veritas
Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra.
Spiritus et aqua et sanguis: et hii tres hunum sunt in xpo Ihu. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in

Audiat hoc arius et ceteri. in cœlo. Pater. verbum. et sps. et hii tres hunum sunt. Si testimonium hominum accipimus, etc.[1]

That it also stood in the old Latin text appears from two leaves known as the *Freisingen Fragments*;[2] these have preserved for us 1 John iii. 8-v. 21, with the disputed verse following our present ver. 8. In his treatise *Adv. Pintam*, referred to above, St. Fulgentius uses the Old Latin version, and as he quotes the verse in question and in a slightly different form from that which he adopts elsewhere, he is presumably giving us the old Latin text.

Only three uncial Greek MSS. are quoted as having the passage,[3] and they are of inferior rank. The most interesting one is the *Codex Montfortianus* in Dublin, which dates from the fourteenth century, and on the strength of whose evidence Erasmus inserted the text in his later editions.[4] It is

[1] Taken from Wiseman, *Collected Essays*, 1853, vol. i, p. 10; the bracketed second line has been omitted by *homoioteleuton*.
[2] See *Scrivener-Miller*, II., p. 53, under the letter Q.
[3] *Scrivener-Miller*, II., p. 402. [4] *Ibid.*

at least conceivable that the copyist's eye travelled from the first μαρτυροῦντες to the second, and that we thus have a remarkable case of *homoioteleuton*, as in the similar passage from *Cod. Cavensis* given above.

There remains the ominous silence of the Greek Fathers who do not give the passage. But still their silence is not quite so complete as is often supposed.

Among the few fragments preserved to us of the writings of Claudius Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis from A.D. 171, we have the following: "Παῖς Θεοῦ . . . ὁ ἐκχέας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἀυτοῦ τὰ δύο πάλιν καθάρσια, ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα, λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα." "The Son of God Who from His side poured out two purifying things: water and blood, the Word and the Spirit." Claudius seems to have combined reminiscences of the earthly and the heavenly witnesses.[1] Among the works of St. Chrysostom there is preserved for us a homily by an unknown writer, whose work, however, is from internal evidence dated A.D. 386 by Montfaucon.[2] In the course of his homily he says: "Εἷς κέκληται ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον. Δεῖ γὰρ τῇ Ἀποστολικῇ Χορείᾳ παραχωρῆσαι τὴν Ἁγιάν Τριάδα, ἣν ὁ Πατὴρ καταγγέλλει. Τριὰς Ἀποστόλων, μάρτυς τῆς οὐρανίου Τριάδος." "The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are called one. For it is but meet for the apostolic band to acknowledge the Holy Trinity which the Father proclaims: the triad of Apostles, the witness of the Heavenly Triad." The preacher had just been referring to John, Peter, and Paul; the Father's proclamation of the Trinity appears in ver. 9; the Apostles form the earthly witnesses, the Trinity the heavenly.

These arguments show us that it is rash to decide emphatically that the words in question are indubitably not authentic; they justify the response given by the Holy Office in 1897 to the question:

"Utrum tuto negari aut saltem in dubium revocari possit esse authenticum textum S. Joannis in Epistola prima, cap. v., ver. 7, quod sic se habet: 'Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in cœlo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt.'"

The reply given runs:

"Omnibus diligentissimo examine perpensis, præhabitoque DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi. Cardinales respondendum mandarunt: 'Negative.'"

This decree received Papal confirmation on January 15, 1897.

At the same time we must be careful to bear in mind that

[1] Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, I, pp. 160-161.

[2] See Forster, quoted in the *Dublin Review*, April, 1882, p. 435.

the decrees of the Holy Office, even when ratified by the Supreme Pontiff, still remain Congregational Decrees; they are administrative acts of the Congregation, and are only ratified as such by the Holy See; in this sense only are they authoritative; in technical language they are known as "Feria IV. decrees," inasmuch as it is the custom of the Holy Office to present decisions at which they have arrived to the Holy See on Wednesdays. Further, their decrees fall not so much on the doctrinal aspect of a question as on its disciplinary aspect; thus we note the formula of "safety," "utrum tuto . . . ," and the negative reply, which merely signifies the contrary of what was asked, *viz.* that this text cannot *safely* be repudiated. Moreover, the word "authentic" has to be understood in the Tridentine sense, in the sense, namely, in which that Council declared the Vulgate to be "authentic."[1]

G. The Theology of the Epistle.

God: none hath ever seen Him, iv. 12, 20; the Word of God, i. 10, ii. 14; God is love, iv. 8, 16; first loved us, iv. 10, 11, 19; the charity of God towards us, ii. 5, iii. 16, iv. 8, 9, 12, 16, 17, v. 3; God is greater than our heart, iii. 20; He knows all, iii. 20; we ask of Him with confidence, iii. 21-22, v. 14-15; the vision of God, iii. 2; the love we must have towards Him, iv. 19, v. 1.

The Holy Trinity: v. 7.

The Father: is the first person of the Blessed Trinity, v. 7; the Word was with the Father, i. 2; whoso denies the Son denies also the Father, ii. 23; Antichrist denies the Father, ii. 22; the Father sent the Son, iv. 9, 10, 14; the charity of the Father, ii. 15, iii. 1; Christ is our advocate with the Father, ii. 1; we know the Father, ii. 14; and have fellowship with Him, i. 3.

The Christology: Christ is "the Word," i. 1, 2, v. 7; He is the Son of God, ii. 22-24, iii. 8, 23, iv. 14-15, v. 5, 10, 13, 20; the "only-begotten," iv. 9, v. 1; He became incarnate, i. 1-3, iv. 2-3; He is the Messias, ii. 22, v. 1; He is "light," i. 5, ii. 8; He is faithful, i. 9; just, i. 9, ii. 1, 29, iii. 7; sinless, iii. 5; was sent into the world by the Father, iv. 9, 10, 14; was testified to by the Father, v. 9-10; He died for us, iii. 16; His Blood cleanses us from sin, i. 7, 9, ii. 2, 12, iii. 5, iv. 10; He came by water and blood, v. 6; He overcame the devil, iii. 8; He came to save all mankind, as "Saviour of the world," ii. 1, iv. 14; is our exemplar, ii. 6; true knowledge of Him consists in keeping the commandments, ii. 3-5, 17, iii. 22-23, v. 2-3; in Him is eternal life, ii. 25, v. 11; He is to come again, ii. 28, iii. 2; He is our advocate, ii. 1.

[1] See vol. i, *h.l*, p. 111.

The Holy Spirit: is the third person of the Holy Trinity, v. 7; is the Spirit of Truth, iv. 6; testifies to the truth of Christ, v. 6; is bestowed upon us, iii. 24, iv. 4, 14; we have His "unction" abiding in us, ii. 20, 27.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

A. The Recipient.

This is addressed by "the Ancient" to "a lady elect," not "to *the* lady elect," as in the Rheims version. The meaning of this title is obscure. Many have thought that an individual was referred to. A Latin fragment of Clement of Alexandria (the *Hypotyposes*[1]) says it was written to "a certain lady of Babylonia, by name Electa," but adds the baffling comment: *significat autem electionem Ecclesiæ sanctæ.* The same fragment declares that it is addressed *ad virgines.* St. Jerome is quoted by Westcott[2] as saying that "the lady elect" stands for some particular Christian society. But in the passage referred to by Westcott, St. Jerome[3] says exactly the opposite. He is denying the legality of a plurality of wives, and after quoting Cant. vi. 8, *my perfect one* (electa) *is but one*, he adds: "Ad quam scribit idem Joannes Epistolam, *Senior, electæ Dominæ.*" Here he clearly understands the lady elect as an individual. Martiannay's note on this is: "Nomen *Electæ*, ut proprium, hoc loco atque sæpe, Hier. interpretatur," but we have not been able to trace any other place where St. Jerome does thus interpret the name. Indeed, that the Epistle was meant for many people seems to follow from the plural forms in vers. 6, 8, 10, 12; ver. 13 would seem to imply that one "elect" body is addressing another.[4]

B. Analysis of the Epistle.

1-3. The salutation to the lady elect and her children from the elder and from all who walk in the truth.

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[1] Quoted by Salmond in *H.D.B.* II. 741.

[2] *The Epistles of St. John*, 3rd *ed.*, 1892, p. 224, and also by Salmond, *l.c.*

[3] *Ep.* CXXIII. 12, *P.L.* XXII. 1054.

[4] Allard, *Ten Lectures on the Martyrs*, Engl. tr., 1907, p. 29, mentions an epitaph dating from A.D. 216 in which Hierapolis is termed "elect" (ἐκλεκτή); *cp.* 1 Pet. v. 13.

4-11. His joy that they walk in the truth; an exhortation to walk in charity, which he defines as the keeping of the commandments. Against seducers they must hold to the divinity of Christ in the flesh. They must beware of leaving the doctrine of Christ, and must examine would-be teachers.

12-13. Closing salutations.

C. The Canonicity of 2-3 John.

(*a*) The *Canon of Muratori* says: "Two Epistles of John, who has been mentioned above, are received in the Catholic Church,"[1] and the context shows that the writer is speaking of 2-3 *John*, and not of the *First Epistle*. (*b*) St. Irenæus[2] quotes 2 John 11 as the work of "John, the disciple," similarly 2 John 7-8.[3] (*c*) Clement of Alexandria[4] says, "John, in his larger Epistle," thus showing a knowledge of at least one other Epistle. (*d*) Origen[5] says: "He (John) has left us also an Epistle of very few lines, perhaps also a second and third; but not all consider them genuine." (*e*) Eusebius has also preserved for us the critical notes of Denis of Alexandria, *c.* A.D. 180-260, who points out that "in the reputed *Second* and *Third Epistle of John*" the name "John" does not occur.[6] (*f*) In the *Seventh Council of Carthage*, A.D. 256, 2 John 10-11 is quoted as "John the Apostle." (*g*) St. Jerome[7] simply repeats the doubts expressed above from Eusebius.

Thus there is no doubt as to the canonicity of the two Epistles. The only doubts expressed are due to the title "presbyter" which the author uses; this point was urged

[1] *Cf.* vol. ii, p. 90.
[2] *Adv. Hær.* I. xvi. 3.
[3] *Ibid.* III. xvi. 8.
[4] *Strom.* II. xv.
[5] *Tom. V. in Joan.*, preserved for us in *H.E.* VI. xxv. 10.
[6] *H.E.* VII. xxv. 11. Eusebius himself says: "Among the disputed writings, which are nevertheless recognized by many, are extant . . . those that are called the *Second* and *Third of John*, whether they belong to the Evangelist or to another of the same name," *H.E.* III. xxv. 3. Moreover, when Eusebius is giving what seems to be his own positive opinion, he remarks that in his *Epistles* John calls himself neither "John" nor "an Apostle," but the "Elder," thus clearly alluding to 2-3 John, and regarding them as the authentic work of John the Evangelist, *Dem. Evangelica*, III. 5.
[7] *Vir. Illustr.* IX and XVIII, *P.L.* XXIII.: "They are said to be by John the Presbyter, whose tomb is still shown to-day at Ephesus." Elsewhere, however, *Ep.* CXLV. 1, he quotes 2 John 1 and 11 simply as "John." It is worth recalling the words of Dionysius of Alexandria, who, in his efforts to show that the *Apocalypse* was not by the author of the *Fourth Gospel*, insists upon the anonymity which characterizes this Gospel as well as the *First Epistle*, and "the reputed *Second* and *Third Epistle of John*, though they are very short, in which the name of John does not appear, but there is written the anonymous phrase 'the Elder,'" *H.E.* VII. xxv. 11.

by Denis of Alexandria and by Eusebius, as also by St. Jerome after them, to bolster up the fiction of "John the Presbyter."

D. Vocabulary of 2 John.

The vocabulary throughout is precisely that to which we are accustomed from the *Fourth Gospel* and 1 *John;* thus note "love," "truth," "abide," "commandment," "from the beginning," "Antichrist," "deceivers," and ver. 5 is almost a repetition of 1 John ii. 7. The affectionate tone which we should naturally associate with St. John is apparent in ver. 12, *cf.* 3 John 13. And note once more how, though apparently addressed to an individual, yet the Epistle as a whole is concerned with a body of people; nor does it seem probable that this is due to the fact of its being addressed to "the lady elect *and her children*"; something more than this seems intended.

THE THIRD EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

A. Analysis.

1. The salutation.
2-4. He expresses his joy at the good tidings that Gaius adheres to the truth.
5-8. Especially does he approve of his hospitality to those who are engaged in the work of the Gospel.
9-10. Gaius compares favourably with Diotrephes in this respect.
11-12. Demetrius, too, merits a good report.
13-14 (15). Concluding salutations.

B. Its General Character.

The Epistle is very brief, but even so it affords a vivid glimpse of life in the early Church. Ambition leads to violence in the case of Diotrephes; hospitality is apparently criticized by some who disapprove of Gaius' action. An interesting parallel to the latter instance is furnished by the *Doctrine of the Twelve*, chap. xi., and to the violence of Diotrephes by the case of Bassianus and Stephanus, the rival Bishops of Ephesus, *cf. Concilium Chalcedonense, Actio* XI. *ap.* Mansi, *Concilia*, VII, pp. 274-294.

In ver. 9 the Vulgate *scripsissem forsitan* is misleading as a translation of the present Greek, which has *I wrote a few words*, St. John thus implying that he actually had written to the Church of which Gaius was a member, but that Diotrephes had refused to listen to him.

The characteristic Johannine words "truth" and "true," 1, 3, 4, 8, 12, and "love," 1, 6, should be noted, as also "walk," 3 and 4. The similarity to 2 *John* even in so brief a letter is remarkable; ver. 3 is practically a repetition of 2 John 4, and vers. 13-14 of 2 John 12; while in ver. 12 we have a striking allusion, so it would seem, to John xxi. 24.

This Epistle is directly addressed to an individual as distinct from the Church, *cf.* ver. 9, and the pronouns are consequently all in the singular, 3, 5, 6, 11, 13, 14. Comparison with 2 John in this respect suggests more than ever that the latter Epistle was really addressed to a Church rather than to an individual.

C. Bibliography of 1-3 John.

There are few commentaries save those of Œcumenius among the Greeks, St. Augustine, *Tractatus in Epistola Joannis ad Parthos*, *P.L.* XXXV., and Ven. Bede. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 3rd *ed.*, 1892. For the authenticity of 1 John v. 7 see *supra;* for 2-3 John see Chapman, O.S.B., in *J.T.S.*, January, 1905. The *Johannine Epistles*, A. E. Brooke, in the *International Critical Commentary*, 1912. Plummer, *The Epistles of St. John, Cambridge Greek Testament.*

THE EPISTLE OF ST. JUDE

A. The Identity of the Author.
B. An Analysis of the Epistle. To whom was it written?
C. Its Canonicity.
D. The Relation of this Epistle to the Pauline Epistles, but especially to 2 Peter.
E. The Vocabulary.
F. The Date of the Epistle.
G. Its Theological Teaching.
H. Bibliography.

A. The Identity of the Author.

This Epistle is a "word of warning" addressed to the faithful in general, a "Catholic" Epistle. Out of anxiety for their "common salvation," St. Jude writes to warn them of the uprising of heretics, men of impious and immoral lives, men who deny the sovereignty of God and His Christ; see the Analysis *infra*. In ver. 17 the writer refers to the teaching of the Apostles regarding the rise of such heretics. It is generally urged that this is proof that the writer, who calls himself "Jude . . . the brother of James," was therefore not himself an Apostle, and, consequently, not the "Jude of James," whose name figures in the list of the Twelve given by St. Luke, vi. 16 and Acts i. 13. It is further insisted that in these two lists it is incorrect to render "Jude of James" by "Jude, the *brother* of James," but that it ought to be "the son of James." This is incontrovertible; Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου would normally be so translated,[1] but it remains to be proved that this construction necessarily and always signifies sonship. Neither does there

[1] *E.g.* McGiffert on *H.E.* III. xx. 1.

seem any sufficient reason for excluding Jude from the band of Apostles,[1] though, in view of Tertullian's pronouncement that either Apostles or "apostolic" men are the authors of the New Testament writings,[2] it would be sufficient to say that Jude ranked among these latter.

B. Plan of the Epistle.

I. 1-4. Jude has a right to address them, for he is the *servant of Christ* and the *brother of James*. His words are directed to those who are *loved* by God, *preserved* in Christ, and *called*. He writes to urge them to earnest striving for their faith against heretics.

II. 5-16. Heretics: their punishment, their folly.

(*a*) 5-8. The Israelites and the Angels who believed not were punished.

(*b*) 9-11. The cities of the plain were punished for their wicked lives. Heretics will be punished for their unbelief and for their wicked lives.

Even Michael did not rail at the devil, but heretics rail at what they know not; they are like Cain, like Balaam, like Core.

(*c*) 12-13. The confusion in which heretics are.

(*d*) 14-16. Enoch prophesied against them; they are murmurers and self-seekers.

III. 17-23. Admonishment for the faithful.

(*a*) 17-19. They must remember what the Apostles have already told them, *viz.* that such mockers would come. Such are these heretics, men who "separate" themselves off.

(*b*) 20-23. The faithful are to build upon faith, charity, and hope; some they are to reprove, others to save, to others they are to show mercy in fear, ever hating sin.

IV. 24-25. Doxology to Him Who alone can preserve them spotless.

The governing notion, then, of this Epistle is that we have to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints," 3. It is a singularly brief Epistle, yet it is remarkable how many points of doctrine are illustrated. Our faith is that "once delivered to the Saints," 3, it is also "our most holy faith," 20; we are heirs of life everlasting, 21, but there is also an everlasting death, 6, 7, 13; the Angels "fell," 6, and both they and we—if we imitate them—are in danger of the Judgment, 6, 15; especial reference is made to Christ's "coming," for which we have to

[1] See John xiv. 22; *cf. s.v. Brethren of the Lord, infra.*

[2] See vol. ii, pp. 72-73.

prepare, 24; and we have to pray "in the Spirit," 20; *cf.* Rom. viii. 26. St. Jude's language is plain and direct, yet it is not without a certain picturesqueness, *cf.* 12-13. It is curious that both St. James and St. Jude should speak so emphatically about "the unspotted way" in which we must walk, 12, 23, 24. The Latin translators have passed over an expression in ver. 8, where St. Jude really wrote ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι, well rendered by the R.V. "in their dreams," a remarkably picturesque touch. In ver. 5 the Latin version has "Jesus," which is generally understood as the Greek form of Josue; but the ordinary Greek text has ὁ κύριος, though some MSS. add Ἰησοῦς.[1] The most remarkable feature, however, of this Epistle is the fact that twice over illustrations are derived from apocryphal books, *i.e.* the *Book of Enoch* and *The Assumption of Moses*; see below.

The Epistle is an "encyclical" letter in the sense that no particular Church is named as its recipient. At the same time it must have had some definite destination. The reference to "your common salvation," 2, seems to point to Gentiles rather than to converts from Judaism. The wickedness denounced is curiously reminiscent of the picture St. Paul gives us of the Corinthian Church; no doctrinal errors appear to be referred to, but rather gross immorality, 4, 11, 16, as well to an obstinacy which makes them independent of authority, 19. The reference to their abuse of the Agape and to their greediness depicts a situation strangely akin to that portrayed in 1 Cor. xi. Consequently, we seem justified in looking for some Church in which many were converts from Gentilism, and in which the habits learned from pagan experience were dying a hard death. It is impossible to decide who had been their apostolic teachers referred to in vers. 17-18. It might, however, be argued that only Churches in Syria would instinctively welcome a letter from one whose claim to a hearing was simply that he was "the brother of James," and that, consequently, we have to seek for some Church which was in close connection with Jerusalem and its Bishop, St. James. Arguments like these might point in the direction of Syrian Antioch, but it must be confessed

[1] See *Expositor*, July, 1919, p. 64.

that they afford but a slender foundation whereon to erect any solid theory as to the destination of the Epistle.

C. The Canonicity of the Epistle.

St. Jerome[1] tells us one of the reasons which militated against the universal acceptance of the Epistle—the citation of the *Book of Enoch* in ver. 14. To this should perhaps be added the use Jude makes of another apocryphal work, *viz.* the *Ascension of Moses*, ver. 9.[2] The Syriac canon did not, apparently, contain the Epistle.[3] But, as in the case of the equally brief *Epistle to Philemon*, the numerous references to it in patristic literature show the esteem in which it was held.[4] Eusebius sums up the position clearly:

"James is said to be the author of the first of the so-called Catholic Epistles. But it is to be observed that it is disputed; at least, not many of the Ancients have mentioned it, as is the case likewise with the Epistle that bears the name of Jude, which is also one of the seven so-called Catholic Epistles. Nevertheless, we know that these also, with the rest, have been read publicly in very many Churches."[5]

And note St. Jerome's words, written of course with full knowledge of what Eusebius had said:

"Jude, the brother of James, has left us a short Epistle, one of the seven Catholic Epistles, but since he drew an argument from the apocryphal *Book of Enoch* his Epistle is repudiated by many. Still, it deserves to be regarded as authentic both by reason of its antiquity and of the use that has been made of it; it is accounted part of Holy Scripture."[6]

It is always difficult to argue from the vague reminiscences of the New Testament which occur in the writings of the apostolic Fathers, but

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[1] See below. [2] *Cf.* Origen, *De Principiis*, III. ii. 1.

[3] So Amphilochius, *P.G.* XXXVII. 1593, does not give it. St. Gregory of Nazianzum, however, does give it.

[4] Thus, in addition to the references given in vol. ii, pp. 64-92, when treating of the canon of the New Testament in general, see St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* IV. iv; Origen, *Tom.* XVII. 13 *in Matt.*; *Tom.* X. 17 *in Joann.*; *Hom.* XIII. *in Genesim*; *Hom.* VII. 2 *in Josue.* Note, also, the abundant use made of the Epistle by St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Ad Valerianum, ap.* Mansi, *Concilia*, V. 366; *In Symbolum, ibid.* 407; *cp.* Mansi, IV. 650.

[5] *H.E.* II. xxiii. 25; *cp.* VI. xiii-xiv.

[6] *De Viris Illustr.* IV; *cf.* St. Augustine, *Tract.* LXXVI. 1 *in Joan.*: "Judas . . . cujus Epistola inter Scripturas canonicas legitur."

the allusion in *Barn.* ii. to "our salvation" may recall Jude 3; also St. Polyc. *ad Phil.* iii, iv, and vii, to "the faith that is given us," *cp.* Jude 3 and 20, also 2 Pet. ii. 21. *Cp.* also *Didache* ii. 7 and Jude 22, and note κυριότης in *Did.* iv. 1 and Jude 8, as also in 2 Pet. ii. 10.

D. Its Relation to the Pauline Epistles, but more especially to 2 *Peter*.

There is a certain resemblance of tone in this Epistle to many passages of St. Paul; this is particularly the case in the doxology, 24-25, where we can trace a similarity to Rom. xvi. 17, 25, Col. i. 22, 1 Thess. v. 28, 1 Tim. i. 17, etc. But it is highly probable that these concluding prayers followed on lines in general use in the Church gatherings, and therefore can hardly indicate a dependence of *Jude* on the written words of St. Paul. At the same time it is worth while comparing such passages as Jude 3 and Titus i. 4; 12 and Eph. iv. 14; 16 and 1 Cor. x. 10; 18 and 1 Tim. iv. 1; 21 and 1 Cor. i. 7, Titus ii. 13; 23 and 1 Cor. iii. 15.

But a much more important question is that of the relationship between *Jude* and 2 *Peter*. These two Epistles are, like the *Epistles to the Ephesians* and *Colossians*, sister Epistles. The following table of parallel passages will prove useful; needless to say, the parallels are only clearly recognizable in the Greek text:

St. Jude.		*2 Peter.*	*St. Jude.*		*2 Peter.*
2	=	i. 2.	11	=	ii. 15.
4*	=	ii. 1.	12*	=	ii. 17.
5*	=	i. 12	16	=	ii. 18.
6*	=	ii. 4.	17*	=	iii. 2.
7-8*	=	ii. 6, 10.	18*	=	iii. 3.
10*	=	ii. 12.			

This list might be extended, but it suffices to indicate the exceedingly close relationship existing between the two Epistles. It is not easy to say with which lies the priority. The most striking resemblances are indicated by an asterisk.[1] In ver. 17 Jude is thought by some to refer to St. Peter, though this is but a supposition. The most important passages in this connection are Jude 9-10 and 2 Pet. ii. 11-12; Jude 13 and 2 Pet. ii. 17. That there is a connection between the two Epistles at these points is clear, but it seems futile to attempt to decide with which lies the priority so long as we are without the full Greek text of

[1] See *Journal Theol. Studies*, January, 1910, p. 310.

Enoch and *The Assumption of Moses*, on which either Jude or 2 Peter or both depend. According to Dr. Charles[1] the influence of the work known as *The Assumption of Moses* can be traced in several places in this Epistle, *e.g.* in vers. 4, 9, 16, 18, also in 2 Pet. ii. 13 and in St. Stephen's speech, Acts vii. 36. The *Book of Enoch*[2] had an even wider influence, for in addition to Jude 6 and 14 and 2 Pet. ii. 4, parallels between this book and 1 *John* as well as the *Apocalypse* are discoverable.

It seems impossible, at least, from their respective use of *Enoch*, to attempt to decide whether 2 *Peter* is dependent on *Jude* or *vice versa*. Indeed, from the widely prevalent use of *Enoch* among the early Fathers, it might well be maintained that there is no evidence that *Jude* and 2 *Peter* are not acting quite independently in their use of both these apocryphal books. Abstracting, however, from their use of these books, opinions are divided as to whether 2 *Peter* is using *Jude* or *vice versa*.[3] It is interesting to note that the work known as the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which is referred to by Eusebius[4] and also in the *Muratorian Fragment*,[5]

[1] *Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, 1913, vol. ii, pp. 407-409. According to Dr. Charles, the work known to us as *The Assumption of Moses* originally consisted of two works : the *Testament of Moses* and the *Assumption*. These were composed in Hebrew at the opening of the first century, and were almost immediately translated into Greek, in which language fragments of them have been preserved for us in *Jude* and in Acts vii. 36, as also in allusions in the writings of Origen and Clement of Alexandria, amongst others. We possess a Latin translation of half of the original *Testament of Moses;* this was discovered by Ceriani in 1861 in a sixth-century MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

[2] The *Book of Enoch* is quoted as early as in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and in the *Book of Jubilees* or "Little Genesis," and must therefore antedate the second century B.C. It is quoted in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, xvi. 5 ; by Athenagoras, *Legatio*, xxiv. ; by Clemen of Alexandria, *Eclogæ Prophetarum*, ii, and *Strom.* III. 9 ; also by St. Irenæus, *Hær.* I. xv. 6, IV. xvi. 2, xxxvi. 4, V. xxviii. 2 ; by Tertullian, *De Cultu Feminarum*, i. 3 ; *Apol.* xxii ; *De Idololatria*, iv and xv ; *De Virgin. Veland.* vii ; and by Origen, *C. Celsum*, V. 52-54 ; *Hom.* XXVIII. 2 *in Nbs.* ; *De Princip.* I. iii. 3, iv. 35 ; *cp.* St. Jerome, *Vir.* III. iv, and the *Paschal Canons* of Anatolius in *H.E.* VII. xxxii. 19.

[3] Lumby, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, upholds the priority of 2 *Peter* ; Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, English translation, pp. 364-368, upholds the priority of *Jude*, *cp.* Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 312.

[4] *H.E.* III. iii. 2, VI. xiv. 1.

[5] See vol. ii, p. 90 ; see *The Assumption of Moses*, *ed.* W. J. Ferrar, S.P.C.K., 1917.

and which was discovered at Akhmim in 1886, contains four allusions to Jude and eighteen to 2 Peter.

E. The Vocabulary of the Epistle.

Though this Epistle is very brief, it yet presents us with several curious and unusual word forms, *e.g.* 11, *ἀντιλογία*, *cf.* Heb. vi. 16, vii. 7, xii. 3; 24, *ἀπταίστους*; 19, *ἀποδιορίζοντες*; 18, *ἐμπαῖκται*, *cf.* 2 Pet. iii. 3; 13, *ἐπαφρίζοντα*; 23, *ἐσπιλωμένον*, *cf.* Jas. iii. 6; 13 and 6, *ζόφος*, *cf.* 2. Pet. ii. 4, 17; 8, *μεμψίμοιροι*; 12, *συνευωχούμενοι*, *cf.* 2 Pet. ii. 13; 16, *ὑπέρογκα*, *cf.* 2 Pet. ii. 18.

F. The Date of the Epistle.

Granting that the Epistle was written by the "brother of James," we have a *terminus ad quem* in the death of St. Jude. But we are quite unable to fix that date. Eusebius[1] gives us, from Hegesippus, an account of how Domitian, A.D. 81-96, summoned before him the grandchildren of Jude as being descendants of David, but this does not help us to determine when Jude himself died. It might be possible to argue that Jude would hardly describe himself as "the brother of James" were the latter already dead; he might have expressed himself differently. This is precarious. Moreover, St. James died in A.D. 62,[2] and if the *Epistle of Jude* were written previous to that date, then we should have the question of the priority of *Jude* to 2 *Peter* definitely settled. No one, however, assigns 2 *Peter* to a date previous to 62, so that it seems better not to force such a construction on the words "brother of James," and regard them simply as an honorific title which would secure the writer a hearer whether James were dead or not. A *terminus ad quem* seems, however, definitely assignable in the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. It seems incredible that any Hebrew writer should fail to refer to such a world-shaking event, however brief his letter might be. The Epistle was, then, written before A.D. 70, but there is no intrinsic evidence to show how long before that date it might have been written.

[1] *H.E.* III. xix-xx.

[2] See *s.v. Chronology of the Apostolic Age, infra.*

Jude might have written it in A.D. 50 as much as in 60. Of course, if it could be shown that he knew 2 *Peter*, then it would follow that he wrote somewhere between A.D. 60-70; beyond that no one can decide.

G. Theology of the Epistle.

God and the Father: He is the Lord God, 4; the only God, 25; the Sovereign Ruler, 4; our Saviour, 25; the preserver of the faithful, 24; they are beloved in God, 1; we must love Him, 21.

The *Christology:* Jesus is Christ, 1; He is the Lord Jesus Christ, 17, 21, 24, 25; His mercy is to be awaited, 21; Jude is His servant, 1; the faithful are preserved in Him, 1; and called in Him, 1; His Second Coming, 24.

The *Holy Spirit:* in Him the faithful must pray, 20.

H. Bibliography.

In addition to the dictionaries and general commentators, we have a Latin translation of the work of Didymus of Alexandria, *P.G.* XXXIX; the commentaries of Theophylact and Œcumenius, *P.G.* CXXVI and CXIX, also of Ven. Bede, *P.L.* XCIII. In more recent times, Plummer in Ellicott's Commentary, 1883, and in the *Expositor's Bible*, 1891; Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude* in the *International Critical Commentary;* Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, English translation, vol. ii, pp. 134-366; *St. Peter, St. Jude, and the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Calmes, Paris, 1905; J. B. Mayor, *Jude and 2 Peter*, 1907. For an interesting discussion, see *J.T.S.*, 1905, pp. 391-411 and 569-577.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN

A. The Character of the Book.
B. Principles of Interpretation.
C. Analysis.
D. Canonicity and Authenticity.
E. The Date of the Book.
F. The Vulgate Text.
G. Theological Teaching of the Apocalypse.
H. Bibliography.

A. The Character of the Book.

In St. John's *Gospel* we have the drama of faith and unfaith. In his *Apocalypse* we have a drama of a different type—for it deals with prophecy and the future rather than with history—*viz.* that of the conflict between good and evil. His *Apocalypse* may be regarded as a sequel to his *Gospel*. In the latter the Cross of Christ, in the former His glory, i. 5, 13-18, vi. 15, xi. 15, xii. 10, etc. In the *Gospel* the promises, in the *Apocalypse* their fulfilment: *the gates of hell shall not prevail against it* (the Church). The actors in the drama are the Almighty Father seated on His throne; Christ, the "Son of man," the "Lamb of God," the "Word of God," the "King of kings"; the Angels, who are His ministers. Over against these are set the powers of evil typified by the dragon, the two beasts, the false prophet, and those whom they seduce. Their combat rages round the elect, *viz.* the Confessors, Martyrs, and Virgins who have *kept themselves undefiled* and thus have *overcome*, xv. 2-4, etc.

The imagery is derived from the Old Testament Prophets, especially from Isaias, Daniel, and Ezechiel; indeed, chap. xviii is practically a reproduction of Ezech. xxvii-xxviii.

B. Principles of Interpretation.

The *Apocalypse* or "Revelation" has always been the crux of interpreters;[1] presumably it will be so till the end of time, since it closes with a picture of the last Judgment. The book is called by St. John a "revelation," i. 1, and he refers to it as a "prophecy," i. 3, x. 11, xxii. 7, 9, 10, 19. Now a Prophet is one who gazes into the "mirror of eternity" as St. Augustine expresses it, and who describes what he is permitted to see therein. With God, however, there is neither past nor future, but simply the ever-present. This fact alone accounts for the absence of what we may term "the time-sense" in prophecies; they are independent of time. The *Apocalypse* must, then, be judged from the standpoint of prophecy; but between the Old Testament prophecies and the *Apocalypse* there is this main difference: the former had for their goal the Christ to come and the Church He was to found; rarely does their vision extend to the last things. The *Apocalypse*, on the contrary, starts from the goal of the Old Testament Prophets: the Christ has come, His Church already exists. The goal, then, of this prophecy is the life of the Church and its close—the last things. And in the truest sense we are now at "the last hour," 1 John ii. 18, so that quite fittingly St. John writes that his revelation deals with *things which must shortly come to pass*, i. 1, iv. 1. The interpretation, then, of the *Apocalypse* must be governed by the rules which hold good in the interpretation of all prophecy. For the original hearers or pre-Christian readers of the prophecies of Isaias or Jeremias only one thing was certain, *viz.* that, being divinely inspired prophecies, the things foretold would infallibly come to pass. But the time, place, and manner of their fulfilment was hidden from them save in so far as it was to be guessed at either by hints given in the body of the prophecy itself or by dint of enlightenment furnished by other prophetical portions of the Old Testament; thus,

[1] Thus, Origen remarks, *De Principiis*, IV. 10, *P.G.* XI. 362: "Whoso reads the things that were revealed to John cannot fail to feel stupefied at the shrouding of mysteries which—even to one who does not understand what is written—seem to enshrine something hidden and mysterious"; *cp. De Civitate Dei*, XX. 17, *P.L.* XLI. 685.

Isa. vii. 14, for example, would receive light from Gen. xlix. 10. To Christian readers, however, or to non-Christian enquirers, a flood of enlightenment regarding the prophecies was forthcoming in the fulfilment of the said prophecies as portrayed in the New Testament. It is in this sense that St. Augustine never tires of repeating: *In Novo Testamento patent quæ in Veteri latent.*[1] Since, then, the ultimate goal of the *Apocalypse* is the last things, it is clear that full light will not be thrown on this prophetical book till those last things shall have received their ultimate fulfilment.

We say "the ultimate goal" and "full" light of set purpose. For while it remains true that the last things constitute his main theme, just as the coming of the Redeemer is the main theme of the Old Testament prophecies, both prophecies, whether of the old or the new dispensation, had certain more immediate purposes. For their clear enunciation of the coming of Christ, whether as Redeemer or as Judge, was in itself an immense fact. We are apt to fix our attention too exclusively on the modality of the fact and to ask: Why? When? How? Isaias comforted his hearers as well as his readers by insisting on the certainty of the future redemption; St. John does the same by dwelling on the deliverance of the Church from bondage.

It is necessary to insist on these points, since failure to realize them has led to much harmful interpretation of the *Apocalypse.* Thus it is sometimes urged that the original readers—contemporaries of the Seer—must needs have possessed a key to its interpretation, else the book would not have been written.[2] This is even laid down as a fundamental principle. Yet why should the contemporaries of St. John have had an "open sesame" to the *Apocalypse* any more than Isaias' contemporaries had a key to the full understanding of his prophecies? What they could not fail to understand was that their redemption was to come. What John's earliest readers must have understood was that, however "the princes of this world" might "rage," the divine assistance was always at hand, and the Judgment was certainly to come. But as the centuries before Christ rolled on, the teaching of Isaias spoke ever more clearly to

[1] *E.g. In Heptateuchum*, lxxiii, *P.L.* XXXIV. 623.
[2] *The Cambridge Greek Testament, The Revelation*, p. liii, *ed.* 1893.

those that had ears to hear; the nearer approach of the supreme event threw its light on the shadows of the forecast. It is the same with the *Apocalypse*. We who stand at the threshold of those last things, compared, that is, with St. John's hearers, can see how many of the things which he therein describes touching the conflicts which the Church will have to endure have been fulfilled, and we can argue that, as it has been with these things, so will it be with those of greater import. Thus when we read of so-called *preterist* interpreters of the *Apocalypse*, of interpreters, that is, who maintain that St. John is speaking of events already past in his own day, and that he depicts for us Nero as Antichrist, etc., we answer that such interpreters have wholly failed to grasp the idea of prophecy. And if it is urged that the Seer clearly had Nero in his mind, and that consequently this tyrant serves as the key and the pivot on which the whole turns, we answer that it would have been impossible for St. John not to have had Nero in his mind, since his repellent figure must needs have loomed large as a persecutor of the Church, and that it may well be that this figure of Nero served him as a type, as a symbol of all persecutors who were ever to afflict the Church. Similarly, when we read of so-called *futurist* interpreters, who hold that the entire prophecy is concerned with the remote future, with those last things which bulk so largely in the closing scenes, we answer that you cannot argue from the part to the whole, and that such a statement is clearly contrary to facts, since the merits and demerits of the Bishops of the seven Churches were contemporary historical facts. At the same time it will remain true that, just as Nero served for a symbol of all persecutors, so too did those Churches with their Bishops stand for the collective Church of all ages.[1] The same underlying misconceptions are to be found in a third school of interpretation generally spoken of as the *continuous history* theory. According to this theory, the *Apocalypse* gives us the history of the Church to the end of time; it opens with the contemporary history depicted in the letters to the seven Churches, it passes on to sketch out the various persecutors, it concludes with the scenes of the final Judgment. This is seductive at first sight, indeed,

[1] See, however, St. Jerome, *Adv. Jovin.* I. 26, *P.L.* XXIII. 247.

it may be sound at the beginning and end. But as for the various persecutors, who is to distinguish them? What note of time have we? Whenever a great world crisis has arisen, men have come forward with the *Apocalypse* and have endeavoured to show—often with great reason—that it exactly fits the present situation. But the crisis passes and the final denouement—the last Judgement—does not come. Another crisis arises, and there is the cry: "The end of the world is at hand!" Are such men mistaken? Is it not even possible that this is precisely the function of this awe-inspiring book? For as we read we seem to expect each chapter to give us the final scene; the denouement approaches, then it fades away, and the series of symbolical visions opens afresh. Thus in iv. 2-11, vi. 12-17, and xiv. 14-20 we feel "this is the last Judgement"; but the pageant fades away, and the final scene does not really stand before us till the concluding chapters. So it is in the history of the world, of nations, and of the Church. Men say: "Now is the end!" Yet the end comes not, and a fresh start is made. Still it remains true that the end had come for the individual nations and people. Is not this the real purport of the *Apocalypse?* Is not its message: "Watch, for ye know not the day nor the hour"?

Though but few of the Fathers of the Church have written formal commentaries on the *Apocalypse*,[1] they yet

[1] St. Irenæus, Hippolytus, Origen, and Epiphanius, among the Greeks, quote the *Apocalypse* very frequently. Among the Latins we have Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, who also quote largely. The earliest commentary seems to have been that by the Donatist Tychonius who was largely followed by subsequent writers, *e.g.* Primasius in the sixth century (*P.L.* LXVIII). Later commentaries were those of Andrew and Aretas of Cæsarea, *cf.* Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, I. 13, frag. viii. Among the spurious works of St. Augustine, Migne has reprinted (*P.L.* XXXI) a commentary which used to be—though falsely—attributed to Tychonius. A well-known commentator also was Victorinus of Petau, *cf. Vir. Illustr.* lxxiv. Cassiodorus, sixth century, has left us a summary of the Apocalypse in his *Instituta*, IX, *P.L.* LXX. 1122. St. Jerome, *Vir. Illustr.* IX, *P.L.* XXIII. 625, seems to speak of commentaries by St. Justin and St. Irenæus, but it is more probable that he is referring to the fact that they rendered the word "Apocalypse" by "revelation," *cf.* Vallarsi's note in Migne. Fragments of a commentary by Origen seem to have been discovered lately in Egypt, *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, I. i.,

quote it largely, and thus comment on many portions of it. And it will be well for us to lay hold of certain principles which are insisted on with striking unanimity in the references and commentaries which have come down to us. Thus (*a*) The universal Church is signified by the seven Churches.[1] (*b*) The book is replete with mystery; it itself is the "sealed book" of chap. v. Thus, St. Jerome says: "How many there are who fancy they are educated; yet the book they hold is sealed! For they cannot open it unless He unlocks it 'that hath the key of David; He that openeth and no man shutteth, that shutteth and no man openeth.'"[2] And once more: "John's *Apocalypse* contains as many mysteries as words . . . in every single word lie hid many meanings!"[3] But St. Augustine lays his finger on the main source of obscurity when he says:

"In the book called the *Apocalypse* many things are said in obscure fashion for the exercising of the reader's mind. There are but few points in it, but their investigation opens up a laborious understanding of other points; and this is especially due to the fact that *he so repeats the same things in divers fashions as to lead us to think he is speaking of different things, whereas he is but striving to tell us the same things in different fashion.*"[4]

This seems to be the key-note to the *Apocalypse:* St. John is not writing a continuous exposition of the Church's future history in chronological order; he is setting before us various phases of that history through the medium of different symbolical visions. There is no succession of time, but solely of the symbols which represent one thing which is synchronous with all time, *viz.* the trials of the Church of God. This well appears in such sections as xiv. 1, xx. 2, xvii. 1, and xxi. 9, *cp.* the apparent approach of the final Judgment referred to above. This absence of what we have called "the time-note" is peculiarly illustrated by such passages as xi. 7, where the beast of later chapters

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1914, p. 54. Later commentaries are those by the Ven. Bede, seventh century, by Beatus, eighth century, and Haymo of Halberstadt, ninth century.

[1] Primasius, *Comment. in Apocalypsim, lib.* V., *P.L.* LXVIII. 934; so, too, Ven. Bede, *Comment. in Apocal. Prol.* and on iv. 1, *P.L.* XCIII. 129, 142, etc.

[2] St. Jerome, *Ep.* LIII. 5, *P.L.* XXII. 543.

[3] *Ibid.* 8, 548-549.

[4] *De Civitate Dei*, XX. xvii, *P.L.* XLI. 683.

seems to be anticipated; ix. 16, xvi. 15, xix. 9, which seem torn from their context; vii. 17 (xxi. 4), where the revelation seems to close; xxii. 9, 12, where there seems to be a change of speaker; and especially the numerous passages which indicate that all takes place in the presence of "One sitting on the throne," *cf.* iv. 10, v. 1, 7, 13, vi. 16, vii. 10, 15, xvi. 9, xxi. 5, though from other passages we should rather gather that the throne is suddenly "set" and the Judgment opened. According to Photius,[1] Methodius in his *Liber de Creatis*, now lost, interpreted the *Apocalypse* in purely allegorical fashion

C. Analysis.

A. I. 1-3. The Introduction: *The revelation of Jesus Christ . . . by His Angel to His servant John.*

B. I. 4-III. 22. The Eight Introductory Epistles.

(i.) i. 4-20. **An Epistle to the Churches collectively:** *I, John, your brother . . . was in the island called Patmos. . . . I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day and heard a great voice saying: What thou seest, write in a book and send to the seven Churches which are in Asia.*

(ii.) ii. 1-7. To the Church of Ephesus: *I know thy works and thy patience . . . but thou hast left thy first charity . . . be mindful therefore and do penance. . . . But this thou hast that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaites.*

(iii.) ii. 8-11. To the Church of Smyrna: *I know thy tribulation and thy poverty; but thou art rich. . . . Be faithful unto death and I will give thee the crown of life.*

(iv.) ii. 12-17. To the Church at Pergamus: *Thou holdest fast My name and thou hast not denied My faith . . . but thou hast them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaites . . . do penance.*

(v.) ii. 18-29. To the Church at Thyatira: *I know thy works, and thy faith, and thy charity, and thy ministry, and thy patience, and thy last works, which are more than the former; but thou sufferest the woman Jezabel, who calleth herself a prophetess . . . yet that which ye have hold fast till I come.*

(vi.) iii. 1-6. To the Church at Sardis: *I know thy works that thou hast the name of being alive and art dead. Be watchful . . . for I find not thy works full before my God.*

(vii.) iii. 7-13. To the Church at Philadelphia: *Thou hast kept My word and hast not denied My name. . . . Behold, I come quickly: hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.*

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[1] *Bibliotheca*, 237, *P.G.* XCIII. 1171.

(viii.) iii. 14-22. To the Church at Laodicea: *Thou art neither cold nor hot; I would thou wert cold or hot. But because thou art lukewarm I will begin to vomit thee out of My mouth. . . . Such as I love I rebuke and chastise. . . . Behold, I stand at the door, and knock.*

C. IV-XXII. 5. The Body of the Prophecy.

(i.) iv-v. The introductory scene: he is rapt in the Spirit and sees a throne set in heaven with One seated thereon; round the throne are the four-and-twenty Elders and the four Living Creatures resembling, the one a lion, the other an ox, the third a man, the fourth an eagle: they *rested not day and night, saying Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, Who was, and Who is, and Who is to come.* A book with seven seals is in the hand of Him Who sitteth on the throne; none can open it save *the Lamb that was slain;* to Him the Angels, the Living Creatures, and the Elders give honour and glory.

(ii.) vi. 1-17. **The first six seals of the book are opened:**

(*a*) The *first* seal is opened and there comes forth a Conqueror on a white horse.

(*b*) The *second* seal is opened and one comes forth on a red horse; he is to *take away peace from the earth.*

(*c*) The *third* seal is opened and one comes forth on a black horse; he carries a pair of scales.

(*d*) The *fourth* seal is opened and Death comes forth on a pale horse, and Hell follows him.

(*e*) The *fifth* seal is opened and *I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God.*

(*f*) The *sixth* seal is opened and this is followed by an earthquake; the sun becomes black, the moon is turned into blood, the stars fall, the heavens are rolled up as a book, and all men *say to the mountains and to the rocks: Fall upon us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb.*

(iii.) vii. 1-17. Previous to the opening of the seventh seal the elect of God, the one hundred and forty-four thousand of the twelve tribes, are sealed on their foreheads, and *a great multitude which no man could number* are seen standing before the throne: *these are they who are come out of great tribulation . . . the Lamb shall lead them to the fountains of the waters of life, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.*

(iv.) viii-xiv. **The seventh seal is broken:** *and there was silence in heaven, as it were for half an hour.* Seven Angels are seen with seven trumpets, while another Angel with a golden censer offers up the prayers of the Saints, viii. 1-6.

(*a*) The *first* Angel sounds the trumpet: hail, fire, and blood are cast upon the earth; a third of the earth, the trees, and the grass is burnt up, viii. 7.

(*b*) The *second* Angel sounds the trumpet: a mountain is cast into the sea, the third part of which is turned into blood, the third part of its denizens are destroyed, as well as the third part of the ships, viii. 8-9.

(*c*) The *third* Angel sounds the trumpet: a star named Wormwood falls on the waters and a third part of them are dried up, viii. 10-11.

(*d*) The *fourth* Angel sounds the trumpet: a third part of the sun, moon, and stars cease to give their light, and an Angel flies through the heavens crying: *Woe to the inhabitants of the earth by reason of the rest of the voices of the three Angels who are yet to sound the trumpet*, viii. 12-13.

(*e*) The *fifth* Angel sounds the trumpet: a star falls from heaven; the bottomless pit is opened, smoke and locusts pour forth; the latter are to torment for five months all *who have not the sign of God on their foreheads, cf.* vii. 3-8; their *king is the Angel of the bottomless pit; his name in Hebrew is Abaddon, in Greek Apollyon* (*Destroyer*). *One woe is past, and behold there come yet two woes more hereafter*, ix. 1-12.

(*f*) The *sixth* Angel sounds the trumpet: he is told to loose the four Angels who are bound in the Euphrates; they are to *slay the third part of men for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year.* Those who are not slain do not even then do penance, ix. 13-21.

(*g*) An Angel comes with a book; he cries with a loud voice, whereupon seven thunders utter their voices. John is forbidden to write what the thunders say. *In the days of the voice of the seventh Angel, when he shall begin to sound the trumpet, the mystery of God shall be finished.* John is told to eat the book the Angel holds, for *Thou must prophesy again to many nations, and peoples, and tongues, and kings*, x. 1-11.

(*h*) John is told to measure the Temple; God's two witnesses (Enoch and Elias?) are to prophesy 1,260 days; they shall then be slain by the beast from the abyss; the world shall rejoice at their death, but after three days and a half they shall rise again: *the second woe is past, and behold the third woe will come quickly*, xi. 1-14.

(*i*) The *seventh* Angel sounds the trumpet: voices in heaven proclaim the kingdom of Christ. A

great sign appears: *a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars.* The dragon, *who is called the devil and Satan,* pursues her, but her child is taken up into heaven; Michael defeats the dragon, who revenges himself upon the woman and her seed, xi. 15-xii. 17.

(*j*) A beast comes up out of the sea; the world marvels at him and adores the dragon who gave him power. Another beast comes from the earth and induces all to worship the former beast and erect his image and adore it. All his worshippers are marked with the sign of the beast, *and the number of him is* 666, xiii. 1-18.

(*k*) The Lamb appears standing on Sion with the 144,000 *purchased from the earth . . . for they are virgins.* An Angel flies through the heavens bearing *the eternal Gospel.* Another follows announcing the fall of Babylon. A third declares the torments reserved for them that worship the beast. John is told to write: *Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord . . . for their works follow them. One like to the Son of Man* is seen sitting upon a throne: He reaps the earth with His sickle. An Angel also reaps the vineyard of the earth, and *it is cast into the press of the wrath of God,* xiv. 1-20.

(v.) xv-xix. 10. **The seven Angels with the seven last plagues.**

(*a*) They who have overcome the beast sing the Canticle of Moses. The temple of the tabernacle of the testimony is opened and the seven Angels appear with the seven last plagues, xv. 1-8.

(*b*) They are told to pour out the phials containing these plagues, xvi. 1-21.

1. The *first* plague falls on the earth and those who have adored the beast and his image.
2. The *second* is poured on the sea as the blood of a dead man, and all in the sea die.
3. The *third* on the rivers, and they are turned to blood.
4. The *fourth* on the sun, which burns those who have worshipped the beast, yet even then they did not penance.
5. The *fifth* on the throne of the beast; men thereupon blasphemed, but did not penance.
6. The *sixth* plague falls on the Euphrates, which is in consequence dried up. Un-

clean spirits come from the mouths of the dragon, the beast, and his false prophet, to gather the kings of the earth to Armagedon.

7. The *seventh* plague is poured out: a voice from the throne says: *It is done.* An earthquake divides the great city into three parts, *and Babylon came in remembrance before God to give her the cup of the wine of the indignation of His wrath.*

(*c*) A description of the great harlot, Babylon; her destruction; the rejoicings of the Saints thereat, xvii-xix. 10.

1. *She sitteth upon many waters. . . . And on her forehead is written: A Mystery: Babylon the Great.* She is carried by a beast that hath seven heads and ten horns; the seven heads are seven kings, of whom five are fallen, one is, and the other is yet to come. The ten horns are *ten kings who have not yet received a kingdom. These shall fight with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them because He is Lord of lords and King of kings, and they that are with Him are called, and elect, and faithful,* xvii. 1-18.
2. The destruction of Babylon: *Go out from her, My people, that you be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues.* The kings of the earth lament over the fall of Babylon, xviii. 1-24.
3. The pæan of triumph in heaven at the fall of the city and at the reign of the Lamb: *the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of great thunders, saying: Alleluia! For the Lord our God Almighty hath reigned!* xix. 1-10.

(vi.) xix. 11-xx. 15. **The final conflict between the Lamb and the dragon.**

(*a*) One appears seated on a white horse; he is called *the Faithful and True;* He has also *a name which no man knoweth but Himself . . .* and His name is called *The* Word *of* God *. . . and on His garment and on His thigh is written:* King *of* Kings *and* Lord *of* Lords, xix. 11-18.

(*b*) The beast and the false prophet are *cast into the pool of fire,* and an Angel chains *the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil and Satan,* for a thousand years in the bottomless pit, xix. 19-xx. 3.

(*c*) Thus is inaugurated the millennium ; they that have not adored the beast reign a thousand years with Christ. This is the First Resurrection, xix. 4-6.

(*d*) After the millennium Satan is loosed, and Gog and Magog assemble under his banner to fight ; but fire comes down from heaven, and the devil and the beast and the false prophet are tormented for ever and ever. The final Judgment is held : *the sea gave up the dead that were in it . . . and Hell and Death were cast into the pool of fire. This is the* Second Death, xix. 7-15.

(vii.) xxi-xxii. 5. **The New Jerusalem.**

(*a*) John sees *the New Jerusalem coming down out of heaven.* A voice says : *Behold the tabernacle of God with men . . . death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying . . . for the former things have passed away*, xxi. 1-8.

(*b*) One of the seven Angels who bore the phials containing the last plagues shows him the city in detail and measures it : *And I saw no temple therein, for the Lord God Almighty is the Temple thereof—and the Lamb*, xxi. 9-27.

(*c*) He is shown the River of Life and the Tree of Life ; the servants of the Lamb *shall see His face and His name shall be on their foreheads*, xxii. 1-5.

D. XXII. 6-21. The Epilogue to the Book.

These things are to come quickly : *I, Jesus, have sent My Angel to testify to you these things in the Churches. I am the root and the stock of David, the bright and morning star.* No one is to venture to add to or take away from this book. *Surely I come quickly ! Amen. Come, Lord Jesus !*

D. Canonicity and Authenticity.

Of all the "disputed" books, it must be said that the *Apocalypse* is the best authenticated both as regards its place in the canon and its Johannine authorship. Thus *St. Clement of Rome* quotes the words : "Behold the Lord, and His reward is with Him, to render to everyone according to his work."[1] It might well seem incredible that Clement (*d. c.* A.D. 98) should quote Apoc. xxii. 12, and it is true that these words may be a reminiscence of Isa. xl. 10 or lxii. 11, but the fact remains that Clement's Greek text is much more akin to Apoc. xxii. 12, than to either of the above passages of Isaias. *Papias, c.* A.D. 140 (?), must certainly have derived his millenarian doctrine for which

[1] 1 *Cor.* xxxiv.

Eusebius blames him,[1] from Apoc. xx. 1-6. *St. Justin*, another Chiliast, expressly defends this doctrine by the *Apocalypse*, of which he says: "A man amongst us, by name John, one of Christ's Apostles, in the revelation made to him, foretold that those who should believe in our Christ should spend a thousand years in Jerusalem."[2] The *Shepherd of Hermas* may contain possible references to the *Apocalypse* in two places,[3] though these are at the best doubtful. *St. Irenæus* explicitly terms the *Apocalypse* the work of "John the disciple of the Lord";[4] and Eusebius has preserved for us the valuable passage where Irenæus states that the *Apocalypse* was "seen not long ago, but practically in our generation, at the close of Domitian's reign."[5] *Clement of Alexandria* is familiar with the *Apocalypse;* he quotes it as the work of "John the Apostle,"[6] or simply as "the Apostle."[7] It is the same with *Tertullian;* on at least three occasions he speaks of the *Apocalypse* and the *First Epistle* as being by St. John.[8] Similarly *Origen* tells us of John's exile to Patmos, where he wrote his *Apocalypse*.[9] *Victorinus of Petau* (close of the third century) wrote a commentary on the *Apocalypse* which is preserved for us.[10]

[1] *H.E.* III. xxxix. 12; *cp.* Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* III. 24; *P.L.* II. 356.

[2] *Dial.* LXXXI. *Cp. H.E.* IV. xviii. 8. [3] *Visio*, I. iii. and IV. i.

[4] *Adv. Hær.* V. xxvi. 1, *P.G.* VII. 1192.

[5] *Adv. Hær.* V. xxx. 3, *P.G.* VII. 1207. St. Irenæus' discussion of the correct figure for the number of the beast is interesting, as showing us that even in his day there existed copies of the *Apocalypse* already considered old, and also that variant readings had crept in. Irenæus says: "Since these things are so, and this number is found in all the approved and ancient copies, and those who saw John face to face confirm it. . . ." This last point is of peculiar interest, since it shows how important these early writers felt tradition to be, *Adv. Hær.* V. xxx. 1, *cf. H.E.* V. viii. 5.

[6] *Strom.* VI. 14.

[7] *Pæd.* II. 9, 11, 12, *cp.* I. 6, and *Strom.* IV. 25, VI. 16.

[8] *Præscr.* XXXIII.; *Adv. Marcion.* III. 14; *P.L.* II. 340, 356, and *De Fuga*, IX; *De Pudic.* XIX; *P.L.* II. 46, 112, 1018.

[9] *Tom. XVI. in Matt.*, *P.G.* XIII. 1386; *Prol. i. in Joan.*, *P.G.* XIV. 22; *De Princip.* I. ii. 10, *P.G.* XI. 141; also *De Princip.* IV. i. 10.

[10] *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Edinburgh); *Tertullian*, III. In *P.L.* XVII. 763 will be found an *Expositio super Septem Visiones Libri Apocalypsis.* This was published in 1548 by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Carlisle, and as a genuine work of St. Ambrose. It has also been attributed to SS. Hilary, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory, and to Prudentius the

Eusebius is often spoken of as though he doubted the authenticity of the *Apocalypse*, but this is due to a misunderstanding of Eusebius' method. Eusebius writes as an historian, and as such it was his duty to tell us of the doubts which some expressed about the book. Hence he tells us now of those who rejected it, now of those who acknowledged its canonicity and authenticity. At the same time Eusebius sometimes allows his historical sense to be swayed by the arguments adduced against the Johannine authorship of the *Apocalypse;* this will be clear from the following points: he tells us that some reject it;[1] but elsewhere that Justin called it the work of the Apostle John;[2] that Theophilus, in his work against Hermogenes, quotes it;[3] that Origen says that "John wrote the *Apocalypse*";[4] he gives the contemporary account of the martyrdoms at Vienne, A.D. 177, and in this narrative the *Apocalypse* is twice quoted and, in one of these passages, with the formula "that the Scripture might be fulfilled";[5] so, too, he tells us how Irenæus used and acknowledged the *Apocalypse*;[6] at other times he is content to speak of the "so-called *Apocalypse of John.*"[7] Eusebius' apparent wavering is due to the arguments set forth by Denis of Alexandria touching the authorship of the *Apocalypse*, for these weighed much with him; thus he quotes Denis as saying:

"Some before us have set aside and rejected the book altogether, criticizing it chapter by chapter, and pronouncing it to be without sense or argument, and maintaining that the title is fraudulent. For they say that it is not the work of John, nor is it a revelation, since it is thickly covered with a veil of obscurity."[8] After remarking that some referred the *Apocalypse* to Cerinthus, who—so they supposed—prefixed the name of John to it in order to ensure its circulation, Denis continues:

"Still I cannot venture to reject the book, since many brethren hold it in high esteem. But I suppose that it is beyond my comprehension, and that there is a certain hidden and wonderful meaning in every part. For if I do not understand, then I suspect that a more profound meaning lies beneath the words. I do not measure and judge them by my own reason, but, leaving the more to faith, I regard them as too

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hymn writer. But a reference to the subjugation of the Lombards (on chap. xvii) shows that it must be subsequent to A.D. 774. It is thought to be the work of a Benedictine of the tenth century. The whole series of visions are interpreted of the Church. The commentary of Primasius, Bishop of Adrumetum, *c.* 550, is to be found in *P.L.* LXVIII. In the prologue to *Lib.* II. hints are given as to the way to study the Apocalypse, *col.* 819; use is made of Tyconius' exposition; all is interpreted of the history of the Church, and the various "visions" are regarded as repetitions. Almost precisely the same features reappear in the commentary of Ven. Bede, *P.L.* XCIII.

[1] *H.E.* III. xiv. 18, xxv. 4.
[2] *Ibid.* IV. xviii. 8.
[3] *Ibid.* IV. xxiv. 1.
[4] *Ibid.* VI. xxv. 9.
[5] *Ibid.* V. i. 10 and 58.
[6] *Ibid.* V. viii, *P.G.* XX. 450.
[7] *Ibid.* III. xviii. 2, *P.G.* XX. 251.
[8] *H.E.* VII. xxv. 1-2, *P.G.* XX. 695 *ff.*

profound for me to grasp. I do not reject what I cannot comprehend, but rather wonder because I do not understand it."[1] Denis then proceeds to state his reasons for holding that the *Apocalypse* is not the work of the author of the *Fourth Gospel* and the *Johannine Epistles*. He points out that the author of the *Apocalypse* names himself "John" (i. 1, 4, 9, xxii. 7-8), and he therefore argues: "That he was called John, and that this book is the work of a certain John, I do not deny. I agree also that it is the work of a holy and inspired man. But I cannot readily admit that he was the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, by whom the *Gospel of John* and the *Catholic Epistle* were written. I judge from the character of both, from the forms of expression, as well as from the entire execution of the book, that it is not his. For the Evangelist nowhere gives his name nor proclaims himself, neither in the *Gospel* nor in the *Epistle*."[2]

Denis insists at great length on this argument, and he applies it to reject the Johannine authorship of the "reputed second and third *Epistle of John*," in which, as Denis remarks, "though they are very short, the name of John does not appear, but we have instead the anonymous expression 'the Elder.'" In the *Apocalypse*, on the contrary, the name of John is found at the beginning and at the close. Denis then adds: "I am of opinion that there were many of the same name with John the Apostle," and he gives instances from the New Testament, amongst others "John Mark," whom, however, Denis hesitates to identify with the "John" of the *Apocalypse*. "But I think," he concludes, "that he was some other one of those that were in Asia. For men say that there are two tombs in Ephesus, and that both of them are said to be the tomb of John." Denis then proceeds to support his view that the *Apocalypse* on the one hand, and the *Fourth Gospel* with the *Epistle of John* on the other, could not have emanated from the same hand; his arguments have remained to this day the staple ones for all those who call the Johannine authorship of all these writings in question: "Both the ideas, the vocabulary, and the syntax of these writings give good grounds for holding that their authors are distinct. For the *Gospel* and the *Epistle* agree with one another, and they begin in the same fashion, for the former opens: 'In the beginning was the Word'; while the latter opens: 'That which was from the beginning.' The former says: 'And the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us, and we saw His glory, the glory as it were of the Only-begotten of the Father'; while the latter has the same with the very slight change: 'That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life, and the Life was made manifest. . . .' Thus he (the author of the *Gospel* and the *Epistle*) is self-consistent and departs not from his theme, but handles all under the same headings and names." Denis then instances certain expressions which are common to the *Gospel* and the *Epistle*, *e.g. life*, *light*, *fleeing darkness*, *truth*, *grace*, *joy*, the *Flesh and Blood of Christ*, *judgment*, *remission of sins*, *God's love for us*, the *commandment of mutual love*, that we must *keep all*

[1] *H.E.* VII. xxv. 4-5. [2] *Ibid.* 7-8.

the commandments, the *conviction of the world*, of the *devil*, of *Antichrist*, the *promise of the Holy Spirit, our sonship of God*, the *faith that is everywhere demanded of us;* the Father, too, and the Son are repeatedly named. In fine, to those who rightly examine them it is clear that the *Gospel* and the *Epistle* have throughout one and the same character. But the *Apocalypse* is quite different in tone to them, indeed alien to them ; it hardly touches them, nor has any resemblance to them—indeed it has, so to say, no syllable in common with them. Neither does the *Epistle* (I say nothing of the *Gospel*) show any recollection of nor idea of the *Apocalypse*, nor the *Apocalypse* of the *Epistle*. Whereas Paul in his *Epistles* makes certain references to his revelations—those, namely, of which he did not write expressly in the said *Epistles*.

"Further, the very structure of the phrases shows to what extent the *Gospel* and the *Epistle* differ from the *Apocalypse*. For the former are not only not written in halting Greek, but they show a real elegance in words, in arguments, and in the structure of the composition ; indeed, it is far from being the case that barbarisms or solecisms or peculiarities of speech are to be discovered therein. For the author possessed the two gifts of speech, as was only fitting, since the Lord had bestowed upon him both, *viz.* those of knowledge and of its expression.[1] But that the author of the latter (*i.e.* the *Apocalypse*) saw the revelation and received knowledge and prophecy I do not question ; yet I notice that his language is not precisely that of a Greek, and that he makes use of barbaric idioms, not to say solecisms. These it is not needful to set forth, for I do not say this to bring him into contempt, but simply in order to bring out the unlikeness of the two writings."[2]

That Eusebius was tremendously impressed by this reasoning is clear from his commentary on Irenæus' statement that Papias was "a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp."[3] Apropos of this statement Eusebius quotes the famous words of Papias: "I shall not hesitate to set down for you, along with my interpretations, whatso-

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[1] St. Denis certainly exaggerates when he insists on the purity of the Greek in the *Gospel*. The truth is that the style adopted is such that it was hardly possible for the writer to make mistakes in syntax. There is no involved construction ; clause follows clause in simplest fashion. It seems indubitable that the author was a Hebrew, whose thought was characteristically simple and direct. It would not be just to say that he was thinking in Aramaic and translating his thoughts into Greek as he went, but he is certainly a Hebrew thinking in Greek, *viz.* in a language other than his own. A comparison between any chapter at random and a chapter from the *Epistle to the Hebrews* will show the difference between a writer thinking and writing in Greek because it is his own tongue, and one who is using a vehicle which is not really natural to him.

[2] *H.E.* VII. xxv. For the Greek of the *Apocalypse cf.* Deissmann, *Fresh Light from the East*, English translation, p. 124, note 9.

[3] *H.E.* V. xxxiii. 4.

ever things I have at any time learnt carefully from the Elders and have carefully remembered, guaranteeing their truth. For I did not, like the multitude, take pleasure in those that speak much, but in those that teach the truth; not in those that relate strange commandments, but in those that deliver the commandments given by the Lord to faith and springing from the truth itself. But if it chanced that any came who had been a follower of the Elders, I used to enquire the words of the Elders (what they related Andrew or Peter to have said, or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord), and the things which Aristion and the 'Patriarch' John, disciples of the Lord, were saying."[1]

On these words Eusebius comments thus: "It is worth while observing here that the name 'John' is twice enumerated by him. The first one he mentions in connection with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of the Apostles, clearly meaning the Evangelist; but the other 'John' he mentions after an interval, and places him among others outside the number of the Apostles, putting Aristion before him, and he distinctly calls him a 'Presbyter.' This shows," continues Eusebius, "that the statement of those is true who say that in Asia there were two persons that bore the same name, also that there are two tombs in Ephesus, each of which to this present day bears the name of 'John.' It is necessary to pay attention to this. For it is probable that it was the second of these—unless anyone prefers the first—who saw the *Revelation* which is circulated under the name of 'John.' And the Papias of whom we are here treating acknowledges that he received the words of the Apostles from those who were their followers; he says that he himself was a hearer of Aristion and of 'John the Presbyter.'"[2]

This passage in Eusebius, as well as the passage given above from Denis of Alexandria, has been the fertile source of much misunderstanding, and owing to it the shadowy figure of "John the Presbyter" has haunted the pages of modern criticism of the *Fourth Gospel*.[3]

It must be conceded that St. Denis has drawn a somewhat exaggerated picture; nor must it be forgotten that he had a controversial axe to grind. For Chiliasm, or the doctrine of the millennium, was held to be the plain teaching of such passages as Apoc. v. 10, xx. 4-14. That the style of the *Apocalypse* differs from that of the *Gospel* and 1-3 *John* is clear; but the difference is one demanded by the subject-matter. For the *Gospel* is narrative, the *First Epistle* is

[1] *H.E.* III. xxxix, *P.G.* XX. 297; *cp.* Chapman, *John the Presbyter*, p. 40, for the translation of Eusebius.

[2] *H.E.* III. xxxix. 5-7, *P.G.* XX. 297.

[3] For a full discussion, see Dom John Chapman, O.S.B., *John the Presbyter*, Clarendon Press, 1911; *cf.* also Swete in *J.T.S.*, July, 1916.

doctrine based directly on that narrative. The *Apocalypse*, on the contrary, is pure prophecy, *cf.* the allusions to prophecy and prophesying, x. 11, xi. 3, 6, xix. 10; to the Old Testament Prophets, x. 7, xi. 10, 18, xvi. 6, xviii. 20, 24, xxii. 6, 9; to false prophets, ii. 20; note, too, the explicit declaration that the book itself is a "prophecy," i. 3, xxii. 7, 9, 18.

But while this difference of subject-matter demands a difference of vocabulary, it yet remains true that the vocabulary and style of the *Gospel* and the three *Epistles* are only to be paralleled in the *Apocalypse;* thus note such peculiarly Johannine words as ἀληθινός, which occurs 8 times in the *Gospel*, 4 in 1 *John*, 9 in *Apocalypse;* "testimony," μαρτυρία, 14 in *Gospel*, 7 in *Epp.*, and 9 in *Apocalypse;* also αἷμα, of Christ's redeeming Blood, 5 in *Gospel*, 4 in 1 *John*, and 5 in *Apocalypse;* more than all, the use of Λόγος, as denoting the Second Person of the Trinity, is confined to the Johannine writings, John i. 1, 14, 1 John i. 1 and (?) v. 7; Apoc. xix. 13. Similarly we should note the use of the Johannine φιλεῖν in Apoc. iii. 19, xxii. 15; it does not occur in 1-3 *John*, but is found 12 times in the *Gospel*. So, too, δοῦλος in the sense of John xv. 13-15, 20, *cp.* Apoc. i. 1, and eleven other places. The same must be said of the Johannine ἀγάπη and ἀγαπάω, *cp.* Apoc. i. 5, ii. 4, 19, iii. 9, xii. 11, xx. 9. In ii. 28, *I have received of My Father*, and iii. 14, where the Son is described as *the beginning of the creation of God*, we have two distinctly Johannine phrases. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that such distinctively Johannine words as ἀληθής, ἀλήθεια, χαρά, and πίστις are entirely wanting in the *Apocalypse;* while, conversely, whereas the "Lamb of God" in the *Gospel* is always ἄμνος, i. 29, 36, in the *Apocalypse* the word ἀρνίον is always used, *cp.* John xxi. 15, "feed My lambs." The word μάρτυς in the expression *faithful witness* is peculiar to the *Apocalypse*, *cf.* i. 5, iii. 14, etc.[1]

[1] As examples of Greek words almost peculiar to the *Apocalypse* note βιβλαρίδιον, x. 2, 9, 10, Aristophanes has βιβλιδάριον; γόμος, xviii. 11, 12, *cf.* Acts xxi. 3; κατάθεμα, xxii. 3, *cf.* καταθεματίζω, Matt. xxvi. 74; μασάομαι, xvi. 10; μεσουράνημα, viii. 13, xiv. 6, xviii. 17; ὀπώρα, xviii. 14; ὄρνεον, xviii. 2; πελεκίζω, xx. 4; ποδήρης, i. 13, which the Vulgate simply transcribes *poderes;* ποταμοφόρητον, xii. 15; πύρινος, ix. 17; ῥυπαρός, xxii. 11; ταλαντιαῖος, xvi. 21; φωστήρ, xxi. 11; χλιαρός, iii. 16, etc.

For distinctively Hebrew constructions note iii. 8, ἦν . . . ἀυτήν, the Hebrew repetition of the demonstrative, as *e.g.* in *cujus spes ejus;* the use of πᾶν for the Hebrew כֹּל, ix. 4; the use of ἐπι as rendering the Hebrew ל, ix. 11, etc. The curious Greek constructions in viii. 3; the bad concords in xiv. 1, 3, xvii. 4; the lack of prepositions in viii. 3, 4, xxii. 14; the use of ἐκ for δια, viii. 13; the use of ἐπι in xx. 1, xxii. 16; and the rare form ἐστάθη in viii. 3, xii. 18; the Hebrew use of tenses in ii. 24, vii. 10, xii. 12, etc.

But despite this unquestionable Johannine tone of the *Apocalypse* it is undeniable that the Greek style of the book is very different indeed from that of the *Gospel* and the *Epistles;* if anyone will read aloud consecutively a chapter of each, he will find that while the reading from the *Epistle* is but an echo of the *Gospel*, the transition to the *Apocalypse* is like passing from one author to another. Hence there have not been wanting critics who argue that this difference in style is such that we can only hold to the Johannine authorship of both by supposing that they were written at periods widely apart. But, they continue, extrinsic testimony is in favour of the view that all three, the *Gospel*, the *Epistles*, and the *Apocalypse*, were written at a very late period in St. John's life. Consequently, they urge, we are faced with the dilemma of either rejecting this extrinsic testimony or of rejecting the Johannine authorship either of the *Gospel* and the *Epistles* on the one hand, or of the *Apocalypse* on the other. But, they conclude, the Johannine authorship of the *Gospel* and the *Epistles* is certain, therefore that of the *Apocalypse* must be rejected. This was practically the position of St. Denis of Alexandria. Still, the dilemma does not leave us without a loophole. For we may either dispute the unanimity and clearness of the extrinsic testimony, see below, or we may maintain that since the *Apocalypse* is prophecy and written in ecstasy, i. 10, its style is not to be compared with that of the meditative *Gospel* and *Epistle*. This latter suggestion is hardly likely to gain adherence in some quarters, and it certainly conflicts with the tradition embodied in the *Muratorian Fragment* (*q.v.*) that John wrote even the *Gospel* in a species of ecstasy. If, however, we can assign the *Apocalypse* to an earlier period of St. John's life, then we can suppose that when the Apostle came to write the *Gospel* at the close of his life he had profited by his long sojourn in Greek-speaking Ephesus; *cf. infra, Date of the Apocalypse*.

In a well-known passage St. Jerome remarks that "if Latin custom does not admit the *Epistle to the Hebrews* among the canonical Scriptures, it can be retorted that the Greek Churches use the same freedom in rejecting the *Apocalypse*." "We, however," he adds, "receive both, for we do not go by present-day custom, but adhere to the

authority of ancient writers, who constantly make use of passages taken from either, and this not in the same fashion as they are wont to use the *Apocrypha* or the profane writings of the heathen, but as canonical and ecclesiastical."[1] St. Augustine, too, tells us that the Alogi,[2] and perhaps too the Pelagians, refused to admit the *Apocalypse* as part of canonical Scripture.[3] The same was the case with the Syrian Fathers according to Pseudo-Athanasius.[4]

It is generally thought that the Greeks repudiated the *Apocalypse* because of its apparent encouragement of the doctrine of the millennium. St. Jerome attributes the promulgation of this heresy to Papias, who thus misled Tertullian, Victorinus of Petau, Lactantius, and others.[5] The great protagonist of this heresy was unfortunately St. Irenæus, against whom, as St. Jerome tells us,[6] Denis of Alexandria wrote vehemently on the subject. St. Augustine regards Cerinthus as its peculiar patron.[7] It is clear that Greeks and Latins were equally infected by the doctrine.

E. The Date at which the Apocalypse was written.

The earliest witness to the date at which the *Apocalypse* was written is St. Irenæus, who, as we have seen, says that it "was seen not long since, almost in our own generation, at the close of the reign of Domitian."[8] Clement of Alexandria, too, relates a story of St. John "when, after the death of the tyrant, he had returned from the island of Patmos to Ephesus."[9] Eusebius clearly understands this "tyrant"

[1] *Ep.* CXXIX. 3, *P.L.* XXII. 1103. It is noteworthy that St. Cyril of Alexandria makes no use of the very helpful passages he might have quoted from the *Apocalypse*, *cf.* Mansi, *Concilia*, IV. 731 and 1338.

[2] *Hæreses*, xxx, *P.L.* XLII. 31.

[3] *Sermo*, ccxcix, 11 *P.L.* XXXVIII. 1376.

[4] *Synopsis*, iii, *P.G.* XXVIII. 294.

[5] *Vir. Illustr.* IX, *s.v. Papias.*

[6] *Ibid.*, and especially on Ezech. xxxvi, *P.L.* XXV. 339, and *Prol.* to Isa. xviii, *P.L.* XXIV. 627; *cp. De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus inter opp. S. Augustini*, *P.L.* XLII. 1218. The doctrine was energetically refuted by Origen, *De Oratione*, 27, the *Prologue* to his *Comm. on Canticles.* and *De Principiis*, II. See McGiffert's notes on *H.E.* III. xxxix. 12.

[7] *Hær.* viii.

[8] *Adv. Hær.* V. xxx. 3, *P.G.* VII. 1207; this passage is twice quoted by Eusebius, *H.E.* III. xviii, V. viii. 6.

[9] *Quis Dives?* XLII, *H.E.* III. xxiii.

to be Domitian.[1] Similarly St. Jerome, presumably on the authority of Irenæus and Eusebius, always takes it for granted that John was exiled to Patmos by Domitian,[2] Now Domitian reigned from A.D. 81-96, and was succeeded by Nerva, who recalled those banished by his predecessor.[3] This would assign the *Apocalypse* to about A.D. 90-94. Despite this evidence, however, it is incorrect to speak of John's exile under Domitian as "unanimous tradition."[4] Tertullian, to whom we are indebted for the story of the Apostle being let down into a bath of boiling oil and emerging intact,[5] and Origen, who speaks simply of his exile to Patmos,[6] name no Emperor. Theophylact declares that it took place under Trajan![7] And Huetius tells us that Aretas Cæsariensis refers it to Nero; Baronius supposes that Aretas was misled by Tertullian, who groups together the martyrdoms of Peter, Paul, and John; but it is inconceivable that anyone could so understand Tertullian.[8]

The most interesting testimony, however, is that of St. Epiphanius. It is, of course, usual to belittle Epiphanius;[9] but when he makes a positive statement on an historical point we cannot simply reject his testimony. Now Epiphanius says that John in his extreme old age was ordered by the Holy Spirit to write the *Gospel*—it is clearly a question of the *Gospel*, though it is not named.[10] This remark he repeats and amplifies later on: "The Holy Spirit impelled John to write the *Gospel* in his extreme old age, when,

[1] *H.E.* III. xx. 11, xxiii. 1.

[2] *Vir. Illustr.* IX, *P.L.* XXIII. 625, simply an adaptation of *H.E.* III. xx. 11. *Cp. Adv. Jovin.* I. 26, where also, as in his *Comment.* on Matt. xx, Jerome gives the story of the bath of oil on the authority of Tertullian; and *cp. Ep.* XLVI. 6, *P.L.* XXII. 48.

[3] *H.E.* III. xx. 11, where John's recall is expressly referred to this date "according to the account of the Ancients amongst us"; *cp.* xxiii. 1; *cf. Paschal Chron.*, *P.G.* xcii. 603, 606, where the *Apocalypse* is assigned to A.D. 93 and John's recall to A.D. 96.

[4] So McGiffert, notes on *H.E.* III. xviii. 3; *Ante- and Post-Nicene Fathers, Eusebius, ed.* Schaff and Wace, Oxford, 1905.

[5] *De Præscr.* XXXVI, *P.L.* II. 49.

[6] *Tom. XVI. in Matt.*, *P.G.* XIII. 1386.

[7] *Comment. in Matt.* xx.

[8] In his notes on Origen, *Tom. XVI. in Matt.*, *P.G.* XIII. 1386.

[9] *Cf.* Salmon, *Introduction*, p. 168, note, 4th *ed.*, 1889.

[10] *Hær.* LI. ii, *P.G.* XLI. 890.

namely, he had overpassed his ninetieth year, after his return from the island of Patmos, which same return took place under Claudius Cæsar. So, then, when he had dwelt many years in Asia he was impelled to write the *Gospel*."[1] Further on Epiphanius expressly declares that "during the reign of Claudius Cæsar he published this prophecy when living in the island of Patmos."[2] It must be remembered that Epiphanius is writing against those heretics whom he himself nicknamed "Alogi," because they repudiated the doctrine of the Logos,[3] and consequently rejected all the Johannine writings as well: "They appear to reject the writings of the holy Apostle, I mean the *Gospel* and the *Apocalypse* as well as John's *Epistles*, for these latter harmonize with the *Gospel* and the *Apocalypse*."[4] Epiphanius could hardly afford to be careless in making such definite statements when combating a heresy. Yet it is hard to believe that the Evangelist's exile as well as his return from it can have taken place in the reign of Tiberius Claudius Germanicus—to give him his full title, *i.e.* A.D. 41-54. Still, it must be remembered that there was a Claudian persecution, for Claudius, as we know from Acts xviii. 2 and from Suetonius, "Judæos impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulit."[5] One is almost tempted to think that by "Claudius Cæsar" Epiphanius might have meant Nero, for the latter's full title was Nero Claudius Cæsar; the usage of Eusebius is, however, against this, for he always speaks of either "Claudius" or "Claudius Cæsar"[6] when he means the Emperor Claudius, and Nero he always mentions simply as "Nero." Moreover, it is hard to see how at Nero's date St. John could be described as "in extreme old age." The really important thing to notice, however, is that Epiphanius says that a long space elapsed between the composition of the *Apocalypse* and the *Gospel*: "When he had dwelt many years in Asia," *i.e.* subsequent to his return from Patmos, "he was impelled to write the *Gospel*."[7] We remember, too,

[1] *Hær.* LI. xii. 910.
[2] *Ibid.* xxxiii. 950.
[3] *Ibid.* iii and xxviii, 891 and 938.
[4] *Ibid.* xxxiv. 950.
[5] *Claudius*, 25.
[6] *E.g. H.E.* II. viii. 1, ix. 1, "Claudius"; II. x. 9, xiii. 3, "Claudius Cæsar."
[7] *Ut supra;* and *cp.* the Latin *Prologue* to St. Luke's *Gospel*, published by Wordsworth and White, *The Oxford Vulgate*, p. 272, where the *Apocalypse* is assigned to an earlier date than the *Gospel*.

that Aretas Cæsariensis[1] said that the *Apocalypse* was written under Nero.

But St. Jerome, too, says the same thing, for whereas the text in Valesius' edition printed in Migne[2] has "Refert autem Tertullianus quod *Romæ* missus in ferventis olei dolium," Martianay notes that "pro *Romæ*, plures MSS. codices legunt *a Nerone*," and Valesius himself adds: "MSS. omnes et vetus editio *quod a Nerone* missus." It is, presumably, because Jerome gives this on the authority of Tertullian who makes the statement about the bath of oil in his *De Præscriptionibus*, xxxvi, and yet says no word there about Nero but merely refers to Rome as the scene of the martyrdoms of SS. Peter, Paul, and John, that Valesius has changed the text of St. Jerome from *a Nerone* to *Romæ*, for he acknowledges that all the MSS. have *a Nerone*. But there is no proof that Jerome derived his information from Tertullian's *De Præscriptionibus* rather than from some one of the many lost works of Tertullian, to which Jerome himself refers in his *De Viris Illustribus*.[3] Tertullian, it should be noted, says the *First Epistle* preceded the *Apocalypse*.[4]

Now we saw above that Eusebius understood Clement of Alexandria to speak of Domitian when he said that John returned from Patmos "on the death of the tyrant," but it is clear that Clement, too, like Epiphanius, supposes a considerable interval between the composition of the *Apocalypse*, *i.e.* John's residence in Patmos, and the composition of the *Gospel*. For the whole story of the young man whom, as Clement tells us, John commended to the care of the Bishop (? Polycarp) demands a considerable lapse of time; thus the young man persevered for some time, 8; he "little by little" fell away, 10; he then became a bandit, formed a body of dissolute men and became their leader, 11; "some time elapsed, χρόνος ἐν μέσῳ, 12; then John returned, and for the first time it is said that he was "old," 17, 18, neither is the young man any longer spoken of as "young." But if John only returned from Patmos in the reign of Nerva, 96-98, and died, as is supposed, in the seventh year of Trajan, *viz.* A.D. 104, it is hard to see how sufficient time is allowed for the events herein indicated.[5] If, on the other hand, we suppose that Eusebius was mistaken, and that Clement is really referring to Nero, then we shall have an

[1] *Ut supra.*
[2] *Adv. Jovin.* I. 26, *P.L.* XXIII. 247.
[3] LIII, *P.L.* XXIII. 663.
[4] *De Fuga*, ix, *P.L.* II. 112.
[5] *Quis Dives?* XLII, *H.E.* III. xxiii. The figures in the text refer to the sections in Eusebius.

agreement between Clement, Aretas, Jerome probably, and Tertullian probably. The only difficulty will be to explain (*a*) how Irenæus could positively state that it was Domitian who sent John into exile, (*b*) how Epiphanius could refer it to Claudius, and, lastly, (*c*) how Theophylact could refer it to Trajan. As for Theophylact, it may be sufficient to say that he belongs to the eleventh century! Of Epiphanius that, conceivably, he means Nero when talking of Claudius Cæsar, though it must be acknowledged that this is an improbable supposition, see above. The case of Irenæus is different; there is no evading his evidence; the only thing that can perhaps be said is that his contemporary, Clement of Alexandria, may, as we have seen, refer it to Nero. The outstanding fact, however, is that there is no such unanimity in the tradition that John was exiled under Domitian, as has been supposed.

If, then, it is felt that the Greek of the *Apocalypse* is irreconcilable with that of the *Fourth Gospel* on the supposition that they were written at approximately the same time, we may take refuge in the possibility that the *Apocalypse* dates from the time of Nero, 54-68, while the *Gospel* dates from that of Nerva, 96-98, or from the early years of Trajan, 98-104 (117).[1]

F. The Vulgate Text of the Apocalypse.

The Vulgate text of the Apocalypse presents certain features of interest. It must be confessed that most of the divergences from the Greek text are only supported by the less important Latin MSS. Thus i. 3 "audit" for "audiunt"; i. 13 the addition of "aureorum"; ii. 13 the reading "illis" for "quibus"; in v. 1 ὄπισθεν is rendered "foris" instead of "on the back"; in vv. 11 and 12 the omission of "thousands and of thousands" is common to all the Latin MSS., and the rendering of πλοῦτον by "divinitatem"; in v. 14 the addition of "that liveth for ever and ever" is only in inferior MSS.; the same is true of the added "magnus" in viii. 5; but in ix. 11 all MSS. add "Latine habens nomen Exterminans"; so, too, in ix. 13 "oculos," and xi. 17 "venturus es"; in xiv. 5 only the Sixtine and Clementine

[1] It is presumably arguments such as the foregoing which have led Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, Bampton Lectures, 1913, to refer the Apocalypse to about A.D. 70, p. 140; *cp.*, too, Lightfoot, *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, p. 159. For the view which would make the Gospel date previous to the Fall of Jerusalem, see *Expositor*, March, 1919.

have "before the throne of God"; all translate ἁγίων by "sæculorum"; in xvi. 7 the Greek has "And I heard the altar saying"; this difficult passage is given as "I heard another saying" in the Sixtine; the present Clementine Vulgate has combined the two, and reads, "And I heard another from the altar saying"; it is interesting to note that the original Rheims version, which preceded the Clementine by some eight years, here follows the same reading as the Sixtine. In xvii. 8 all the Latin MSS. omit καίπερ ἔστιν of Stephens' edition, or καὶ πάρεσται as the best MSS. have it; the same holds for the omission of καὶ ὄχλοι in vii. 15, and of "lapide" for "ligno" in xviii. 12; in xviii. 17 we have what must presumably have been a long-standing misprint, *viz.* "lacum" for "locum" in the Sixtine and Clementine, as also in Rheims; in xix. 15 the Sixtine and Clementine editions read that the sword was sharp "ex utraque parte," as in i. 16; it is remarkable that here Rheims breaks off from the tradition represented by the Sixtine; Challoner, of course, inserted it on the authority of the Clementine. In xx. 14 after the words "this is the second death," there should follow by way of explanation "the pool of fire," but the Sixtine, Clementine, and Rheims omit the clause. In the same way the words in xxi. 2, "Ego, Joannes, vidi," are due to the Sixtine and Clementine and to one MS. Last of all, in xxii. 19, the Greek and most Latin MSS. have "the tree of life" instead of the "book of life."

G. Theology of the Apocalypse.

God and the Father: God, that is, that was, and is to come, i. 4, iv. 8; He is the Alpha and Omega, xxi. 6; the beginning and the end, xxi. 6; the King of ages, xv. 3; Almighty, iv. 8, xv. 3, xvi. 7, 14, xix. 6; He created all things by His will, iv. 11, x. 6; the Holy One, vi. 10, xv. 4, xvi. 5; the True One, vi. 10; the Living, vii. 2, x. 6; the God of heaven, xi. 13, xvi. 11; Lord of the earth, xi. 4; the Lord, xi. 15; His kingdom, xii. 10; His majesty, xv. 8; the Strong, xviii. 8; the words of God, xii. 17, xix. 9; description of the throne of God, iv. 2, 11; the wrath of God, xiv. 10, 19, xv. 1, 7, xvi. 1, xix. 15; the judgments of God, xv. 4, xvi. 5, 7, xviii. 8, 20, xix. 2, xx. 12-15; the "great day" of God, xvi. 14; the "mystery of God," x. 7; the eyes of God, ix. 13; the sign of God on the foreheads of the elect, vii. 4-10, ix. 4, xiv. 1; He shall wipe away all tears, vii. 17, xx. 4; Christ the Son speaks always of "My God," ii. 7, iii. 2, 12; the elect in heaven speak of "our God," iv. 11, vi. 3, vii. 10, 12, xii. 10, xix. 1, 6.

The Christology: Christ or Christ Jesus, i. 1, 2, 5, 9, xi. 15, xii. 10, 17, xx. 4, 6, xxii. 21; or Jesus, xxii. 16, 20; He is Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the Lord God, the Almighty, i. 8, xi. 17; He is, and He was, and He is to come, i. 8, xi. 17; the first and the last, i. 7, ii. 8; the Son of God, ii. 18; the Word of God, xix. 13; the Lion of Juda, v. 5; the root and the stock of David, xxii. 16; the Morning Star, xxii. 16; the beginning of the creation of God, iii. 14, xiv. 7; God is His Father, i. 6, ii. 28, iii. 5, 20, xiv. 1; He is dependent on His Father, i. 1, ii. 28, iii. 21; He is the Son of Man, i. 13, xiv. 14; He is the Lord, v. 9, xiv. 7; the True One, and the Holy One, iii. 7; the Amen, iii. 14; the Faithful Witness, i. 5, iii. 14; Lord of lords

and King of kings, xvii. 14, xix. 16; the Prince of the kings of the earth, i. 5, xi. 15; He lived, died, and rose again, i. 18, ii. 8; is the first-born of the dead, i. 5; He loved us, i. 5, iii. 9, 19; redeemed us, i. 5, v. 9, vii. 14; by His Blood, i. 5, v. 9, xii. 11, xxii. 14; made for us a kingdom, i. 6, 9, v. 10; made us priests, i. 6, v. 10, xx. 6; holds the keys of death and hell, i. 18; is the Lamb, v. 6-14, vi. 1, vii. 9-10, xxi. 22, xxii. 1, 3, 14; Who was slain, v. 9, 12, xi. 8, xiii. 8; and shall rule over His elect, vii. 17, xi. 17, xvii. 14; He is in heaven with the elect, xiv. 1-4; they sing the canticle of the Lamb, xiv. 3, xv. 3; His is the book of life, xiii. 8, xxi. 17, *cp.* iii. v, xvii. 8, xx. 12, 15, xxii. 19; the wrath of the Lamb, vi. 16-17; He shall be the Judge, xi. 18, xiv. 7; His espousals with His Church, xix. 7, 9, 17, xxi. 2-3; the Apostles are His, xxi. 14; He shall come again, i. 7, iii. 11, xi. 17, xxii. 7, 12, 20; the elect are they who keep the testimony of Jesus, i. 9, *cp.* ii. 13, xix. 10, xx. 4, also ii. 13, xiv. 12, xvii. 6; they are thus said "to die in the Lord," xiv. 13.

The Holy Spirit: His message to the Churches, ii. 7, 11, 17, iii. 6, 13, 22; to the elect, xiv. 13.

Satan: we read of "the synagogue of Satan," ii. 9, iii. 9; of the "seat of Satan," ii. 13; of "the depths" of Satan, ii. 24; he is the "great dragon," xii. 9, 13, 17, xx. 2; the "old serpent," xii. 9, xx. 2; the "seducer," xii. 9, xx. 7; the "accuser," xii. 10; the "devil," ii. 10, xii. 9.

H. Bibliography.

Besides the patristic commentaries given above, Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, New York, 1919, *cf. R.B.*, October, 1920; *The Cambridge Greek Testament;* R. H. Charles, *The Apocalypse*, 1920; Ratton, *The Apocalypse*, Burns, Oates and Washbourne; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 3rd *ed.*, 1911, *cf. R.B.*, January, 1908; Allo, O.P., *Saint Jean: L'Apocalypse*, Gabalda, 1921, and *cp. R.B.*, July, 1919.

As literature on the subject is none too easy to find we give a list of some of the articles in reviews: On the Apocalypse in general see *R.B.*, 1893, pp. 383, 507; 1908, p. 453; January, 1903; October, 1920; also *Expositor*, August, 1920; on the Angels of the Churches, *R.B.*, April, 1910; on the authorship, *R.B.*, July, 1917; on the number of the beast, *Expositor*, January, 1921; on the dramatic character of the book, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1918; on the date, *Expositor*, March, 1919; on the Greek, *Expository Times*, September, 1919; on the millennium, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1919; on the "sealed book," *Expository Times*, December, 1911; on the seven letters, *J.T.S.*, January, 1911; on the structure, *R.B.*, October, 1911; on the symbolism, *Expository Times*, February, 1911; on the text of Tychonius, *J.T.S.*, April, 1913; on the text of the Old Latin versions, *J.T.S.*, May, 1914. For studies of particular sections: chap. vi., *R.B.*, January, 1914; chap. xii., *R.B.*, October, 1909; chap. xiii. and Nero, *Expositor*, January, 1920; chaps. xx-xxii., *Expository Times*, November-December, 1914, and February, 1915. On the Apocalypse and the decline of Rome, *R.B.*, January, 1921; on the Greek of the Apocalypse, *Expository Times*, September, 1919; on the two witnesses, *Expository Times*, October, 1921.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE

I. The Data on which it is Based.

i. The Date of the Death of Herod Agrippa I.
ii. The Years of the Famine.
iii. The Date of St. Paul's Conversion.
iv. Gallio's Proconsulship in Achaia.
v. The Departure of Felix and Arrival of Festus.

II. A Chronological Arrangement of St. Paul's Life and Epistles.

III. Chronological Tables from A.D. 30-150.

IV. Bibliography.

I. The Data on which it is Based.

Perhaps more labour has been expended on this question than on any other problem presented by Biblical history. A certain rough-and-ready system was pretty generally accepted till Ramsay in 1895[1] first set forth the theory that St. Paul's visit to Jerusalem, of which he tells us in Gal. ii., is not—as had hitherto been taken for granted—to be identified with his visit thither for the Council, Acts xv, but with an earlier visit with Barnabas to bring succour to those suffering from the famine; this visit is described in Acts xi. 27-30, xii. 25. Ramsay's contention was, in brief, that since the whole argument of the *Epistle to the Galatians* turned upon the number and occasion of the Apostle's visits to the Holy City previous to writing that Epistle, and since St. Luke's *Acts* clearly showed that the visit detailed in Acts xv, for the Council, was St. Paul's third and not his second visit, as Gal. ii. would assert, it would have been

[1] *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1st *ed.*, 1895.

easy for the Galatians to retort that the Apostle had suppressed one visit he actually had made, and was consequently deceiving them. The importance of this piece of exegesis was at once evident. For quite apart from other interesting questions which it raised, it showed that, on this supposition, the *Epistle to the Galatians* must have been written previous to the Council, and, further, it placed the episode of St. Paul's withstanding Peter to the face in quite a different light, since, whatever may have been St. Peter's motive for thus acting, he at any rate was not acting in face of the decisions arrived at at that Council.

Ramsay's views were hailed with enthusiasm, and met with very wide acceptance. But there were not wanting those who viewed them with suspicion;[1] indeed, it should be noted that in his *Commentary on Galatians*, 2nd *ed.*, 1900, Ramsay himself speaks with much greater reserve on the subject.

We must examine first the chronological data we possess, so as to discover to what extent any points can be regarded as fixed within fairly narrow limits.

i. **The Date of the Death of Herod Agrippa I.**—It is surely not without reason that St. Luke gives us a carefully arranged series of events in Acts xi-xii. He first tells us that Barnabas and Saul brought alms from Antioch to Jerusalem to help the famine-stricken, xi. 30; he then passes immediately to Herod Agrippa's persecution of the Church, with the martyrdom of James the son of Zebedee and the imprisonment of St. Peter, xii. 1-19; next he gives us an account of Herod's terrible death, 19-23; finally, he concludes the story of the relief work carried out by Barnabas and Saul, they return to Antioch, having "fulfilled their ministry," xii. 25. Clearly Luke wishes us to gather that these events took place in the above order. Now we can date the famine with a close approximation to accuracy, as we shall see, and it seems that we can date the death of Herod Agrippa with exactitude.

Josephus tells us[2] that Caligula, "not many days" after his accession, gave to Herod the Tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias with the title of king, and that "in the second

[1] See above, pp. 141-148, and Brassac in *R.B.*, April, 1913, p. 212, note.
[2] *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10.

year" of Caligula Herod went to Palestine and "appeared unexpectedly as a king." Caligula acceded to the throne on March 16, A.D. 37. Josephus adds that the Tetrarchy of Herod Antipas was later added to Agrippa's domains by Claudius, who acceded in A.D. 41, and who also confirmed him in all the privileges accorded to him by Caligula, and this apparently at the outset of his reign.[1] Josephus then gives an account of Agrippa's fearful death, much in the same language as that used by St. Luke.[2] He concludes by saying that Herod reigned four years over his Tetrarchies and three years under Claudius.[3] We have, it is true, coins dating from Herod's ninth year, but the Jewish system of reckoning the regnal years may explain this. For, if Herod acceded before Nisan 1st, A.D. 37, his second regnal year would commence with the Nisan of A.D. 37, and his ninth year with the Nisan of 44. The main point at issue, however, is that Claudius, who came to the throne in A.D. 41,[4] confirmed Herod, apparently immediately, in all his privileges, and that Herod died after reigning three years under Claudius, *viz.* in A.D. 44. This date is accepted by all chronologists, and may be regarded as the most stable point in the chronology of apostolic times.

We have seen with what precise care St. Luke links together the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem for the relief of the famine-stricken, the persecution by Herod, the latter's death, and the completion of the relief work. It seems a fair conclusion that Paul and Barnabas returned from Jerusalem to Antioch some time in A.D. 45-46. But this depends on the date to be assigned to the great famine itself.

ii. **The Date of the Famine.**—Immediately upon the death of Herod Agrippa I., Claudius felt that the kingdom could be more safely entrusted to a Procurator than to Herod Agrippa II, who was exceedingly youthful. Consequently he appointed Cuspius Fadus as Procurator.[5] At this point in his history Josephus inserts the story of Helena of Adiabene who, with her son Izates, embraced the Jewish

[1] *Ant.* XVIII. vii. 2, XIX. v. 1 ; *cf. Wars,* II. xi. 5.
[2] See *H.E.* II. x. 2, where attention is drawn to this point.
[3] *Ant.* XIX. viii. 2 ; but *cf. Wars,* II. xi. 6, where he is said to have governed his Tetrarchies for three years only.
[4] *Ibid.* v. 1.
[5] *Ibid.* ix. 2.

religion; she came, he tells us, to Jerusalem, and was of great assistance to the people there because of the grievous famine in which many died.[1] Josephus then returns to the story of events under Cuspius Fadus, and gives an account of the revolt under Theudas.[2] Then follows an account of Tiberius Alexander, who succeeded Fadus: "Under these Procurators," he says—that is, Fadus and Tiberius Alexander—"happened that great famine in which Queen Helena bought corn in Egypt . . . as I have already narrated." He then adds immediately: "Now it was that Cumanus succeeded Tiberius Alexander, as also that Herod (King of Chalcis), brother of Agrippa the great king, departed this life in the eighth year of Claudius."[3] In other words, Fadus and Tiberius Alexander were Procurators from A.D. 44-48, and the famine fell in their time. On the supposition that each governed Judæa for two years and a half, and that the famine, as Josephus says, covered part of the Procuratorship of each, it would seem that we ought to refer the famine to 45-47. At the same time, from the twice-repeated allusion to the relief afforded by Queen Helena, a relief which in both instances is associated with the Procuratorship of Fadus, it would seem to follow that the real stress of the famine coincided with Fadus' government, and therefore rather with 45-46 than with 46-47. Indeed, we might argue from St. Luke's careful arrangement that the famine and work of relief began before Herod's persecution, and therefore considerably before A.D. 44. At any rate, the data thus provided are in agreement with the year 45-46, which we suggested above as the date of the departure of Paul and Barnabas for Antioch, "having fulfilled their ministry."

iii. **The Date of St. Paul's Conversion.**—We are practically without any clear hint as to the length of time which elapsed between the Ascension and St. Paul's conversion. Acts ix does indeed show us what seems to have been a flourishing Church at Damascus, but then that may have arisen very speedily. There is no reason for supposing that St. Stephen's activities only lasted a few

[1] *Ant.* XX. ii. 5. [2] *Ibid.* v. 1.

[3] *Ibid.* 2; in *Wars*, II. xxi. 1, the arrival of Cumanus is assigned to a date subsequent to the death of Herod of Chalcis.

months, as is sometimes suggested. Fouard[1] attempts to refer the deacon's martyrdom to A.D. 37 on the ground that the death of Tiberius in the March of that year would explain how the Jews could have got sufficiently out of hand to carry out an execution on their own initiative. It seems more probable, however, that, since the death of Tiberius paved the way for Aretas' kingship in Damascus,[2] St. Paul's flight from Damascus may be assigned to that year, and then, since three years elapsed between the conversion of the Apostle and his flight from Damascus after his return from Arabia,[3] this would refer the conversion to A.D. 33-34.

With regard to his flight from Damascus the Apostle says: "At Damascus the Governor (Ethnarch) of the nation, under Aretas the king, guarded the city of the Damascenes, to apprehend me," 2 Cor. xi. 32. What was the relation between this flight of the Apostle from Damascus after his return thither from Arabia, Gal. i. 17, and his conversion? And secondly: at what date was Aretas king of Damascus? We will take the latter question first, as it presents considerable difficulties. We have many inscriptions of Aretas IV., also coins dated in his forty-eighth year. He probably reigned over the nation of the Nabatæans from 9 B.C. to A.D. 40. But then we have coins of Damascus bearing the Roman insignia up till A.D. 33-34, and again for 62-63. It is therefore possible that Aretas was in possession of Damascus from A.D. 34. But Tiberius, who then reigned, was his enemy; hence we can hardly suppose that he made a present of Damascus to Aretas. Nor is it easy to believe that Aretas took it by force; for the Romans would not have allowed him to remain in peaceful possession of it, and the fact that he was governing it through an Ethnarch seems to point to a peaceful and settled occupation. If, then, neither of these alternatives is acceptable, we are compelled to suppose that Aretas received it as a present from Caligula on the latter's accession to the throne in A.D. 37, though we have no statement to this effect. But on this supposition St. Paul's flight from the city can hardly date earlier than A.D. 37.

[1] *St. Pierre*, Engl. tr., p. 391.
[2] 2 Cor. xi. 32-33.
[3] Gal. i. 17-18.

An even more complicated problem is presented by the Apostle's own chronological statements: "Neither went I to Jerusalem"—that is, immediately after his conversion—"but I went into Arabia, and again I returned to Damascus. Then after three years I went to Jerusalem. . . . Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem," Gal. i. 17-18, ii. 1.

It is not easy to discover whether the expression "Then after fourteen years" means fourteen years after his flight from Damascus, and thus seventeen years after his conversion, or whether, like the preceding "Then after three years," it, too, is to be referred to the conversion, and was only eleven years after the flight. St. Jerome is explicit: "Post annos (ut ipse ait) decem et septem";[1] St. Chrysostom[2] may imply the same when he says: "At the outset you had no wish to confer with them, nor after three years, but when fourteen years have elapsed. . . ." Modern commentators generally reckon only fourteen years from the conversion. Indeed, Ramsay maintains that the Greek text really means "Then, in the third year, I went up to Jerusalem . . . then, when the fourteenth year was ending . . ."[3] The Greek prepositions used, and the construction, seem to demand this interpretation.

On the supposition that the visit in Gal. ii.—which St. Paul gives as only his second visit to Jerusalem—is to be identified, not with Acts xv and the Council, but with Acts xi and the visit thither to succour those perishing from the famine, these fourteen years added to 33-34 as the date of the conversion will give us A.D. 47-48 for this second visit, and, consequently, for the relief work necessitated by the famine. We have seen that the famine may even have preceded the death of Herod in 44. If, however, St. Paul really has not enumerated all his visits to Jerusalem in writing to the Galatians, and has omitted all reference to his visit thither in connection with the famine, and has in consequence referred in Gal. ii to what was really his third visit to the Holy City, namely, the official visit on occasion of the Council, Acts xv, then we shall have to reckon seventeen years between the conversion and the Council. If the

[1] *Commentarius in Ep. ad Galat.*, *P.L.*, XXVI. 332. [2] *In loco.*
[3] *St. Paul the Traveller*, 10th *ed.*, p. 382.

latter is, as we shall see reason to suppose, to be referred to A.D. 49, then the conversion will date seventeen years earlier, *viz.* 32-33.

This is a somewhat awkward position. For, to put it briefly, if the flight from Damascus is to be referred to 37, then the conversion will date from three years earlier, 34. But if we are to identify the visit in Gal. ii. with the visit for the famine-relief, that will bring us to 48, which is too late for the date we feel compelled to assign for the famine. If, on the other hand, we regard the sum of years referred to in Gal. i. 17-18 and ii. 1 as amounting to seventeen in all instead of fourteen, and identify the visit in Gal. ii. with the visit for the Council, then, if the Council was held, as we have reason to suppose, in 49, this visit would fall too late for the Council, since seventeen years added to the conversion in 34 would bring us to A.D. 50-51.

Neither does it seem possible to refer the conversion to an earlier date unless we do the same for the flight from Damascus. And it would seem that of all the chronological points just discussed the assignation of that flight to A.D. 37 seems the least certain, for it depends on data which are, to say the least of it, hazy and tentative. If, however, we can assign the flight to 35-36, then we can refer the conversion to 32-33; fourteen years added to this will give us 45-46 as the date of the visit for famine-relief. And we must acknowledge that our own impression, after carefully reading St. Luke's account in Acts xi-xii., together with that given by Josephus, is that the famine is, if anything, to be dated earlier still. We feel that a candid reading of St. Luke leads to the impression that the death of Herod was followed almost immediately by the closing of the relief-work and the consequent return of Paul and Barnabas to Antioch.

iv. **The Date of Gallio's Proconsulship of Achaia.**—This is referred to in Acts xviii. 12-17. The following inscription from Delphi was first published in 1905 by Bourget:[1]

[1] For the Greek text of this inscription see *Appendix C*. A full discussion of it will be found, amongst other places, in *R.B*, January and April, 1913; *cp.* also *Bulletin d'Ancienne Littérature et d'Archéologie Chrétiennes*, July, 1911.

1. TIBErius Claudius caesAR augustUS germanicus,
2. the twelfth year of his tribunicial poWER, imperator for THE TWENTY-SIXTH TIME, FAther of his counTRY
3. ONce more TO tHE CITY OF THE DELPHians most corDIAL greetings.
4. . . . i have KEPT the RELIGIous OBSERVANCES of APOLlo
5. IT IS NOW SAID AND . . . ju-
6. NIUS GALLIO MY friend ANd proconSUL of achaia.

(Lines 7-11 are practically undecipherable.)

The capital letters represent, as far as is possible in a translation, what actually remains of the inscription. Though much mutilated, it enables us to limit Gallio's Proconsulship in Achaia to A.D. 51-53. For we have other inscriptions recording Claudius' twenty-second, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth acclamations as Imperator, while the Claudian aqueduct at Rome bears the number XXVII., and this aqueduct was, as we know, inaugurated on August 1, A.D. 52. We know, too, that from January 25, A.D. 51, to August 1, A.D. 52, there were five such acclamations. Moreover, a Greek inscription from Caria identifies the twelfth year of Claudius' tribunicial power with the year of his twenty-sixth acclamation as Imperator, and that twelfth year ran from January 25, 52, to January 25, 53. But the Claudian aqueduct, as we have already seen, declares that August 1, 52, was already identical with the twenty-seventh acclamation; therefore the twenty-sixth acclamation coincides with the early portion of the year 52. From all which it follows that Gallio was Proconsul in Achaia in A.D. 52, and, consequently, that the middle portion of St. Paul's second missionary journey is to be assigned to the same year. It should be noted, too, that Gallio apparently appears on the scene at Corinth when St. Paul has been there some time, Acts xviii. 12; and, further, that St. Paul stayed there some time, *yet many days*, xviii. 18, after the scene before Gallio's tribunal.

v. **The Departure of Felix and the Arrival of Festus.**—Felix, the Roman Governor, detained Paul in prison at Cæsarea, *but when two years were ended Felix had for successor Portius Festus*, *Acts* xxiv. 27. St. Paul, in his defence before Felix, spoke of the latter as *for many years judge over this nation*, xxiv. 10. Now Tacitus[1] and Josephus[2] place the recall of

[1] *Annals*, XII. 54. [2] *Ant.* XX. vi. 1-3.

Felix' predecessor Cumanus in the year 52. Tacitus, however, makes Cumanus and Felix contemporaries in the government of Palestine, whereas Josephus speaks of Felix as simply Cumanus' successor. There must be a certain truth in both statements, and it seems fair to suppose that Felix was a subordinate to Cumanus in Samaria, for Tacitus assigns Cumanus to Galilee and Felix to Samaria. Eusebius agrees with Tacitus and Josephus in referring Felix' arrival to the year 52, since he refers it to the eleventh year of Claudius; and Eusebius reckons the imperial years from the September following the accession of the Emperor. Hence, when St. Paul speaks of the *many years* during which Felix has been judge, he may well include the years during which Felix was in Samaria.

It will be clear, at any rate, that the Apostle's trial before Felix could not have taken place prior to A.D. 52, since Felix only became Procurator in that year, however long he may have been established in Syria as subordinate to Cumanus. But Eusebius also furnishes us with a *terminus ad quem*, since in his *Chronicle* he assigns the arrival of Festus, who replaced Felix, to the second year of Nero, who succeeded to the throne in October, 54. Reckoning, therefore, Nero's regnal years from the September following his accession, in accordance with Eusebius' practice, Nero's first year will be from September, 55, to September, 56; similarly his second year—the year in question—will be from September, 56, to September, 57. Therefore St. Paul's trial before Felix cannot have taken place later than September, 55, since we have the two intervening years of captivity under Felix' government. When, then, St. Paul speaks of Felix' "many years" of government he must presumably include the years which preceded Felix' actual Procuratorship in Judæa, for the three years from A.D. 52-55 could hardly be described as "many years."

Moreover, the date assigned by Eusebius for the arrival of Festus, *viz.* A.D. 57, seems confirmed by the following considerations. Felix was accused by the Jews of corruption, but they failed to secure his condemnation in Rome because he was the brother of the freedman Pallas, Nero's favourite. Now while it is true that Pallas fell into disfavour about the year 53, it does not necessarily follow that

Felix must therefore have been recalled by the year 57. For Pallas was sufficiently powerful to secure that no enquiry should be made into his own administration, and he may well have retained sufficient influence, even in his fallen state, to secure his brother's acquittal. Further, it is difficult to suppose that the Jews would not have gained their point against Felix had the Jewess Poppæa then exercised sway over Nero. But she was first brought to his notice in 58, and only succeeded in marrying him in 62, in which year Pallas was poisoned and Poppæa's rival Octavia was put to death.[1] Would Felix, then, have had any chance of acquittal later than A.D. 58-59?

If, then, Eusebius is correct in assigning the year 57 as the date of Festus' arrival, St. Paul's Cæsarean captivity must date from 55-57; his arrival in Rome would be referred to the spring of 58; his first Roman captivity will cover the period from the spring of 58 to the spring of 60.

A further confirmation is to hand in the case of Drusilla, the wife of Felix, Acts xxiv. 24. She was the sister of Herod Agrippa II., who, on his accession to the Tetrarchies, married her to Azizus, king of Emesa.[2] But this marriage was "not long after dissolved," because Felix the Procurator fell in love with Drusilla.[3] Now Agrippa only received these Tetrarchies in the twelfth year of Claudius, *i.e.* A.D. 53. Some little time, then, must have elapsed for the marriage to have taken place and for its subsequent dissolution. Consequently we cannot place St. Paul's arraignment before Felix and Drusilla earlier than the year 54-55.

So far we have the following points more or less certainly fixed:

A.D. 33-34 (possibly 32-33). The conversion of St. Paul.
A.D. 35-37. His flight from Damascus.
A.D. 44. The death of Herod Agrippa I.
A.D. 44-46. The close of the great famine.
April, 51-April, 52. Gallio's Proconsulship in Achaia.
A.D. 54-55. The earliest date at which St. Paul's trial before Felix could have taken place.
A.D. 55-57. His two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea.[4]
A.D. 57. The arrival of Festus.

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII. 45; XIV. 60, 65.
[2] *Ant.* XX. vii. 1. [3] *Ibid.* 2. [4] But see below, pp. 381-2.

II. A Chronological Arrangement of St. Paul's Life and Epistles.

We have now to determine the dates to be assigned to the three great missionary journeys undertaken by St. Paul, also to his various Epistles, and to the Council held at Jerusalem, Acts xv.

The First Missionary Journey.—If we are correct in assigning the end of the famine to A.D. 45-46, we may suppose that Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch about the spring of 47. Acts xiii. 1 implies at least some period of labour at Antioch; if we allow three or four months for this, we can place the arrival of Paul and Barnabas at Cyprus about the July of that same year, 47. How long did this mission last? First of all they "went through the whole island," Acts xiii. 6, presumably preaching as they went. Secondly, they covered a great deal of ground on the mainland, as a glance at the map will show. Moreover, it is expressly said that at Iconium they spent "a considerable time," *ἱκανὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον*, xiv. 3. This may mean the winter of 47-48. Then, again, they went to the "whole region round about Derbe and Lystra," xiv. 6, and "taught many," 20; moreover, they ordained priests "in every Church," 22, and finally "abode no small time" at Antioch on their return, *χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον*, 27. All this seems at first sight to demand a great deal of time, yet there seems no reason to suppose that more than one year was thus spent, and they may well have been back in Antioch by the July of A.D. 48; the "no small time" of their sojourn there may perhaps carry us over the following winter of 48-49, in which case the Council at Jerusalem would have taken place in A.D. 49.

The Second Missionary Journey.—Acts xv. 35-36 indicates a certain lapse of time; but we shall not be far out if we suppose that the Apostle passed the winter of 49-50 in Galatia, *cp.* xvi. 5 for a hint as to the time demanded. His journey westward was speedy, and we need not assign much more than three months to his missionary labours previous to his arrival in Corinth; see the indications of time in Acts xvi. 18; xvii. 1, 2, 11, 12, 17. These three months would be those of the spring and early summer of A.D. 50, after which he went to Corinth, where he remained a year

and six months, Acts xvii. 11, *i.e.* on our computation, till the winter of A.D. 51. We have already seen that Gallio's Proconsulship lasted almost certainly from April, 51, to April, 52. And Acts xviii. 12 makes it clear that Gallio arrived when St. Paul had already been there some time. Similarly, Acts xviii. 18 shows that he stayed there some time after the scene in Gallio's court. On his return he stayed but a brief time at Ephesus, Acts xviii. 20. He may have left there when the navigating season opened in the spring of A.D. 52, and so arrived at Antioch in Syria about Pentecost, 52.

The Third Missionary Journey.—He stayed some time at Antioch, Acts xviii. 23, and started again for Galatia about the autumn of A.D. 52. His stay there seems to have been brief, xviii. 23, and he apparently pressed on for Ephesus according to the promise given in xviii. 21. The three months spent in preaching to the Jews previous to their rejection of him, xix. 8, may have coincided with the winter of 52-53, after which there followed a period of two years' work among the Ephesian Gentiles, xix. 10; the entire period is described, xx. 31, as *three years* in round numbers. This might bring us only to the winter of A.D. 54 before his departure for Corinth, where he spent three months, xx. 3. He left Philippi after the Azymes—Ramsay would say "the next day"—and arrived at Troas on a Sunday, xx. 7, and at Jerusalem for Pentecost, xx. 16, *i.e.* according to the above computation, in A.D. 55.

It might well be questioned, however, whether this does not involve too much compression. For if St. Paul left Antioch in the autumn of A.D. 52 and arrived at Jerusalem for the Pentecost of 55, we should only be allowing a period of at most two years and nine months for the "three years" at Ephesus, for the journey through Macedonia, and the three months at Corinth. If, however, the "three months" spent in preaching to the Jews, xix. 8, is not to be computed in the "three years" spent at Ephesus among the Gentiles, and if we allot the autumn of 55 to the journey through Macedonia and the opening months of 56 to the "three months" at Corinth, we should arrive at the Pentecost of A.D. 56 for the Apostle's arrest in Jerusalem, and should have to regard the "two years" imprisonment at Cæsarea under Felix as really only lasting from the

Pentecost of 56 to the winter of 57. Indeed, were it not for St. Luke's positive statements about the two full years of imprisonment at Cæsarea and Rome respectively—διετιάς δε πληρωθείσης (note the aorist), Acts xxiv. 27, and διετίαν ὅλην, xxviii. 30—we should be inclined to adopt this latter scheme. But St. Luke's words effectually prohibit any curtailment of either imprisonment. If, then, the Apostle was imprisoned after Pentecost, 55, and Festus arrived in the autumn of 57, we should have the two full years demanded by Acts xxiv. 27. The journey to Rome will then have taken place during the winter of 57-58—note the reference to the September "fast," xxvii. 9, and also the desire expressed to "winter" at Phenice, the harbour of Crete, 12. Thus the first Roman imprisonment will have lasted from the spring of 58 to the spring of 60.

Finally, even if we grant that the Apostle was martyred in A.D. 64 rather than 67, as so many critics seem to hold, we shall even then have four years in which to place the evangelization of Spain—if St. Paul actually went there—as also the visits to the East postulated in 1 Tim. i. 3, 2 Tim. iv. 13, Titus i. 5, iii. 12, and the final period of imprisonment at Rome.

So far, then, we have the following chronological table:

A.D. 32-33. St. Paul's conversion.
A.D. 35-37. His flight from Damascus.
A.D. 45-46. The end of the famine.
A.D. 47-48. The first mission—July to July (?).
A.D. 49. The Council at Jerusalem.
A.D. 49-52. The second missionary journey; from the autumn of 49 to the Pentecost of 52.
A.D. 52-55. The third missionary journey; from the autumn of 52 to the Pentecost of 55.
A.D. 55-57. Imprisonment at Cæsarea under Felix.
A.D. 57-58. The journey to Rome—in the winter.
A.D. 58-60. First imprisonment at Rome.

The Chronological Order of the Epistles of St. Paul.—The only real difficulty concerns the time at which the *Epistle to the Galatians* was written. If it was penned between the

Apostle's return from his first mission and the Council it will be the earliest of the Epistles remaining to us, and we shall have to assign it to the winter of A.D. 48-49; the alternative will be to refer it to some point in the second missionary journey, *viz.* between 49 and 52; or, in accordance with the North Galatian theory, after Acts xviii. 23, and therefore in the course of the third missionary journey.

Next in order will come the *Thessalonian Epistles*, the first of which belongs apparently to the first nine months of St. Paul's sojourn at Corinth in the course of his second missionary journey, *viz.* about the winter of 51; the second Epistle will date a little later, in 52. If, as suggested above, it is held to be impossible to refer *Galatians* to the period previous to the Council in 49, then we shall have to fit this Epistle into some point in the second missionary journey.

To the third missionary journey belong the two *Epistles to the Corinthians* and that to the *Romans*. The collection of alms for the poor at Jerusalem shows, by the successive stages indicated, that whereas *Romans* must be assigned to the last stage of that journey, the three months spent at Corinth previous to his return to Jerusalem, *viz.* the spring of 55, the *Corinthian Epistles* precede this and must be referred, *First Corinthians* to A.D. 54, and *Second Corinthians* to a slightly later period in A.D. 54-55.

The group of so-called "Roman" Epistles—since they were written during the first imprisonment of the Apostle at Rome—will fall in the years 58-60; this group embraces *Philippians*, *Ephesians*, *Colossians*, and *Philemon*.

Last of all we have the *Pastoral Epistles*, *viz.* 1-2 *Timothy* and *Titus*, and also the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. The *Second Epistle to Timothy* is clearly dated from the final imprisonment which immediately preceded St. Paul's martyrdom, and will therefore belong to the year 67. The *First Epistle to Timothy*, as well as that to *Titus*, seem to date from a period subsequent to his release from his first Roman captivity, and were written—apparently—the one from Macedonia, the other from some point on the Apostle's journey to Nicopolis. They will accordingly lie between either A.D. 60 and 66.

The *Epistle to the Hebrews* belongs to the same period.

These results may be summarized as follows:

A.D. 48-49. The *Epistle to the Galatians*, but *cf. infra.*
A.D. 51. 1 *Thessalonians.*
A.D. 52. 2 *Thessalonians.*
A.D. 49-52. *Galatians*—if the former date is unacceptable.
A.D. 54. 1 *Corinthians.*
A.D. 54-55. 2 *Corinthians.*
A.D. 55. *Romans.*
A.D. 58-60. *Philippians*, *Ephesians*, *Colossians*, and *Philemon.*
A.D. 61-63 or 66. 1 *Timothy* and *Titus;* also *Hebrews.*
A.D. 63 or 66. 2 *Timothy.*

III. Chronological Tables from A.D. 30-150.

Decades.	*Events.*	*Persons.*	*Writings.*
A.D. 30-40.	Martyrdom of St. Stephen, 32-33.	14-37. Tiberius Cæsar.	
	Conversion of St. Paul, 32-33.	26-36. Pontius Pilate, Procurator.	
	His flight from Damascus, 35-37.	37-41. Caligula.	
A.D. 40-50.		41-54. Claudius.	The *Gospels* of SS. Matthew and Mark.
		Martyrdom of St. James, 42-44.	
	Famine, 44-46.	Death of Herod Agrippa II., 44.	
		C. Fadius and Tib. Alexander, Procurators, 44-48.	
	Revolt of Theudas.[1]		
	St. Paul's first mission, 47-48.	Death of Herod of Chalcis, 48.	
		Cumanus, Procurator, 48-52.	
	Simon Magus.[2]		
	Council at Jerusalem, 49.		*Epistle to the Galatians* (?), 48-49. Or, later, in the second mission, or perhaps even during the third mission.
	St. Paul's second mission, 49-52.		
	St. Peter goes to Rome.[3]		

[1] *H.E.* II. xi. 1-3. [2] *Ibid.* xiii. 1-8.
[3] *Ibid.* xiv. 6, where note Eusebius' words: "During the reign of

Decades.	*Events.*	*Persons.*	*Writings.*
A.D. 50-60.	St. Paul's third mission, 52-55.	Gallio in Achaia, 51-52.	1-2 *Thessalonians*, 51-52.
		Felix, Procurator, 52-57.	1-2 *Corinthians*, 54-55.
	St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, 55-57.	Nero, 54-68.	
	His voyage to Rome, 57-58.	Festus succeeds Felix, 57.	*Romans*, 55.
	His imprisonment at Rome, 58-60.		The Epistles of the Roman captivity: *Philippians*, *Ephesians*, *Colossians* and *Philemon*.
			St. Luke writes his *Gospel* and *Acts*.
A.D. 60-70.	Release of St. Paul; he goes to the East and (?) to Spain.[1]	Martyrdom of St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, 61.[2]	
	Neronian persecution; the fire of Rome, 64.	Symeon succeeds him, died A.D. 106.[3]	
	Annianus succeeds St. Mark at Alexandria.[4]	Albinus, Procurator, 62.	
			The Epistles of *Jude*, *James*, 1-2 *Peter*, 1-2 *Timothy* and *Titus*, *Hebrews*, (?) 62-67.
	Death of Seneca, 67.[5]		

Claudius Providence led Peter, that strongest and greatest of the Apostles, the one who on account of his virtue was the speaker for all the others, to Rome."

[1] *H.E.* II. xxii. 2; Eusebius says: "It is said (λόγος ἔχει) that after he had made his defence the Apostle was sent again on the ministry of preaching, and that when he had come to the same city (*viz.* Rome) a second time, he suffered martyrdom."

[2] *Ibid.* xxiii. 1-25.

[3] *Ibid.* III. xi. 1, *cp.* IV. v. 3, where the long series of Bishops of Jerusalem is given.

[4] *Ibid.* 24.

[5] Eusebius, *Chronicon*.

Decades.	*Events.*	*Persons.*	*Writings.*
A.D. 60-70.	Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, 67.	P. Linus.[1]	
		Galba and Otho follow one another and die, 68; Vitellius, 69.	
		Vespasian, 69-79.	
	Fall of Jerusalem, 70.		
		P. Anencletus.[2]	
A.D. 70-80.	Flight of the Christians to Pella.[3]	Titus reigns alone, 79-89.	
A.D. 80-90.	St. John is sent to Patmos.[4]	Domitian, 81-96.	
		The Ebionites.[5]	
A.D. 90-100.		St. Clement, Pope, 92.[6]	Josephus' *Antiquities*, 94.[7]
		Nerva, 96-98.	
	St. John returns to Ephesus, 99.[9]	Evarestus, Pope, 100.[10]	*Apocalypse*, 96.[8]
		Trajan, 98-117.	Clement, 1 *Corinthians*, 98.[12]
		Cerinthus, the heretic.[11]	
A.D. 100-110.		Apollonius of Tyana.[13]	
		Pope Alexander, 109.[14]	St. John's *Gospel*, *c.* 100.[15]

[1] *H.E.* III. ii. Eusebius follows here and in IV. vi. the order given by St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. iii. 3, *viz.* Peter, Linus, Anencletus, and Clement; *cp.* St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* x. 3, on 2 Tim. iv, *P.G.* LXII. 659. Hippolytus and the *Clementines*, however, say that Clement was ordained by St. Peter, and thus they regard Clement as St. Peter's immediate successor. The present catalogue of Popes generally accepted has Peter, Linus, Clement, Cletus, and Anacletus, where Anencletus has been broken up into Cletus and Anacletus.

[2] *H.E.* III. xiii.
[3] *Ibid.* v. 3.
[4] *Ibid.* xviii. 1-2.
[5] *Ibid.* xxvii. 1-6.
[6] *Ibid.* xv.
[7] Eusebius, *Chronicon.*
[8] *Ibid.* and also *H.E.* III. xviii. 1-2.
[9] *Ibid.* xx. 11.
[10] *Ibid.* xxxiv.
[11] *Ibid.* xxviii. 1-6.
[12] *Ibid.* xvi. and xxxviii. 1-5.
[13] Eusebius, *Chronicon.*
[14] *H.E.* IV. i. 2.
[15] *Ibid.* III. xxiii., where Eusebius quotes St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* I.

Decades.	*Events.*	*Persons.*	*Writings.*
A.D. 110-120.		Martyrdom of St. Ignatius, 107 or 116.[1]	Pliny's *Letter to Trajan*, 110.[2]
		P. Xystus, 119.[3]	*Epistles* of St. Ignatius.[4]
A.D. 120-130.		Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis.[5]	*Apologies* of Quadratus and Aristides.[6]
		P. Telesphorus, 128.[7]	
A.D. 130-140.	Revolt of Bar-Cocheba, 132-135.[8]		
	Hadrian founds Ælia Capitolina, 138.[9]	Basilides, 135.[10]	
		P. Hyginus, 139.[11]	
		Marcion, the heretic.[12]	
A.D. 140-150.		P. Pius, 142.[13]	The *Pastor* of Hermas.[14]
			Apology of St. Justin Martyr.[15]
	Valentinus and heracleon, heresiarchs.[16]		
A.D. 150-160.	Death of St. Polycarp, 155-156.[17]		St. Polycarp, *Ad Philippenses.*[18]
		P. Anicetus, 157.[19]	

xxii. 5 and III. iii. 4, for the statement that the Apostle St. John lived on into the days of Trajan.

[1] *H.E.* III. xxxvi. 2-15.
[2] *Ibid.* xxxiii. 1-4.
[3] *Ibid.* IV. iv.
[4] *Ibid.* III. xxxvi. 2-15.
[5] *Ibid.* 2 and xxxix. 1-16.
[6] *Ibid.* IV. iii. 1-3.
[7] *Ibid.* v. 5.
[8] *Ibid.* vi. 2-4.
[9] *Ibid.* 4.
[10] *Ibid.* vii. 6-8.
[11] *Ibid.* x.
[12] *Ibid.* xi. 6.
[13] *H.E.* IV. xi. 6.
[14] *Ibid.* III. iii. 6, xxv. 4.
[15] *Ibid.* IV. xii; Eusebius speaks at great length of Justin, *e.g.* IV. viii. 3-8, xi. 8-11, xvi-xvii.
[16] *Ibid.* IV. xi.
[17] *Ibid.* xv. 1-48, perhaps the most touching account of a martyrdom we possess.
[18] *Ibid.* xiv. 9.
[19] *Ibid.* xi. 1, 7, xiv. 2

IV. Bibliography.

In addition to the Biblical dictionaries—where especially see C. H. Turner, *Chronology of New Testament*—see Ramsay's various works, especially *St. Paul the Traveller* and *The Church in the Roman Empire;* Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 1893, pp. 215-233, *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age;* Fouard's volumes on *St. Paul*, *St. Peter*, and *St. John;* Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, the Bampton Lectures for 1913; C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, Clarendon Press, 1912. For the Delphic inscription giving Gallio's Proconsulship see *inter alia* Brassac in *R.B.*, April, 1913; Deissmann, *Paulus*, pp. 159-177; Dubowy in the *Biblische Zeitschrift*, 1912, p. 154; Prat, *Recherche de Science Religieuse*, 1919, pp. 374-392; Ramsay, *Expositor*, May, 1909. See, too, Harnack's Chronological Tables, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Engl. tr., 1909, pp. 1-30, also an article in the *Expositor*, December, 1919, *Chronology of the Early Roman Church to Nero's Persecution.* On the visits of St. Paul to Jerusalem, St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* XXI. 1 on *Acts*, is singularly clear, *P.G.* LX. 163. See also *Expositor*, May, 1919, on *The Chronology of the Life of St. Paul.*

THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

A. Of the Apocryphal Writings in General.
B. The Apocryphal *Gospels*.
C. The *Acts* and *Apocalypses*.
D. St. Barnabas and *The Epistle of Barnabas*.
E. The *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*.
F. Bibliography.

A. Of the Apocryphal Writings in General.

It was only to be expected that men should attempt to fill up apparent gaps in the literature of the apostolic age; everyone could see that St. Luke's *Acts of the Apostles* gave no account at all of the doings of most of the Apostles; it seemed strange that only four of the Apostles should have compiled *Gospels;* strange, too, that St. John alone should have been vouchsafed a *Revelation.* Consequently we find in patristic literature frequent allusion to various Gospels, *e.g. of Peter, Thomas,* and *Mathias,*[1] *of the Hebrews,* the *Nazarene Gospel, of the Egyptians, of the Twelve, of Peter and John, of*

[1] *E.g. H.E.* III. xxv. 4; *cp.* IV. xxii. 5-8 for Hegesippus' remarks about the origin of this class of Apocryphal writings; see, too, St. Jerome, *Præf. in Matt.* St. Jerome has no patience whatever with the Apocrypha in general: "Of them we may say that the devil sits with his snares with the rich in the Apocrypha to slay the innocent man!" He even paraphrases Ps. ix. 8: "He sits in the Apocrypha like a lion in his den . . .," *on Isaias,* lxiv. 4-5. Elsewhere he allows that the Apostle quoted from them, "though not as approving the Apocrypha, but in the same way as he quotes Aratus, Epimenides, and Menander," *on Eph.* v. 14.

James and *of Basilides*.[1] There are all sorts of "Acts," *e.g.* "*of Andrew* and *of John* and *the rest*,"[2] *of Paul*,[3] and *of Paul and Thecla*.[4] Origen refers[5] to the *Acts of Peter*. Then there are various Apocalypses, especially an *Apocalypse of Peter*,[6] and also of *Paul*.[7] In addition to the foregoing we have some Apocryphal works which form a class apart, *e.g.* the *Protevangelium of St. James*,[8] the so-called *Gospel of Nicodemus*,[9] and lastly a certain amount of literature devoted to the Blessed Virgin.

Of the various "Gospels," "Acts," and "Revelations" above mentioned, few are of any abiding interest. The puerilities which characterize most of them only serve to set the beauty of the canonical Scriptures in a clearer

[1] For the *Gospel of the Hebrews* see Origen, *Tom.* II. 6 *in Joann.*, also XIX. 2, and *H.E.* III. xxxix. 16, where Eusebius says that Papias quotes the "Pericope de adultera" as from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. The "Nazarene" Gospel is often mentioned, and may, perhaps, be only another name for the foregoing; *cf.* St. Ignatius, *Smyrn.* iii., Origen, *Præf.* 8 *in De Principiis*, St. Jerome, *Vir. Illustr. s.v. Ignatius*, also *Præf. in Lib.* III *in Isaiam*. *The Gospel of the Egyptians* and that of *James* are mentioned by Origen, *Hom.* I. *in Lucam*; that "of the Twelve" also by Origen, *Hom.* XV. 6 *in Josue*, where he says that "it is not in the canon." The *Gospels of Thomas*, *Basilides*, and *Mathias* are referred to in *Hom.* I. *in Lucam*.

[2] *H.E.* III. xxv.

[3] The *Acta Pauli* are often mentioned, *e.g. H.E.* III. iii. 5, and xxv. Origen also refers to them, *e.g. De Principiis*, I. ii. 3, and *Tom.* XX. 12 *in Joann.* It is probable that an orthodox as well as a Manichæan edition, or rather a distinct work, existed.

[4] The *Acts of Paul and Thecla* were much read in early days, and to them we owe the now traditional descriptions of the Apostle; *cf. infra*, p. 39, and *H.E.* III. xix. St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* xxv. *in Acts*, St. Jerome, *Vir. Illustr.* vii and *Ep.* xxii. 14, also St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xxx. 4. Papyrus fragments of these *Acts* have been among the discoveries in the last years, *cf. Reports of the Egypt Exploration Society*, 1897-98, p. 60, also *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, I. i., p. 51.

[5] *Tom.* XX. 12 *in Joann.*, but perhaps it is a mistake for "Pauli."

[6] *The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, with the Apocalypses of Each One of Them*, J. Rendel Harris, Cambridge University Press, 1900.

[7] *H.E.* VII. xxv, St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* xviii (38) 2; St. Augustine, *Tract.* xcviii. *in Joann.*

[8] Origen, *Tom.* X. 17 *in Matt.*

[9] This is quite a late title for some six documents dealing mostly with the Pilate legend. It is, so far as we are aware, not mentioned by any of the Fathers. Eusebius speaks twice of forged "Acta Pilati," *H.E.* I. ix. and IX. 5, but these—if we are to judge by what Eusebius tells us of them—formed no part of the present work.

light. At the same time, this mass of Apocryphal literature is of interest to the historian as it often throws light on practices and customs, and also on allusions in early Christian literature, which would not otherwise be intelligible. Artists, too, have in all times drawn upon this material for subjects. It would be impossible to present here more than a summary account of these volumes; the bibliography at the close may help a student to find out details which interest him. In these latter days increasing attention has been called to the Apocrypha, and very valuable editions of them are now to be had.

B. The Apocryphal Gospels.

The various *Apocryphal Gospels* seem in the main to depend on three fundamental documents: The *Protevangelium*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, and the *Acta Pilati*.

i. The *Protevangelium* has always had a great vogue. The story opens with the childless pair, Joachim and Anna; the Blessed Virgin is born to them, she is presented in the Temple, where she remains till her espousals with St. Joseph. Then comes the Annunciation, with the story of St. Joseph's fears. The Child is born in a cave, and no midwife is needed. The same features reappear in the so-called *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, but with greater wealth of detail. Marvels are narrated of the childhood of Christ: lions and dragons are His companions, He overwhelms the schoolmaster, Zacheus, by His knowledge, and He corrects mistakes in Joseph's carpentry.[1] Joseph is said to be the father of James, Joseph, Judah, and Simeon, as well as of two daughters; Mary of Cleophas is the Blessed Virgin's sister. In another document, *The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin*, we again have the story of Joachim and Anna, but two additional points come out: first, that Mary had taken a vow of virginity; and, secondly, that St. Joseph was very aged at the time of the espousals.

ii. The *Gospel of Thomas* exists in two Greek forms and in

[1] These *Apocryphal Gospels* are quoted by St. Thomas more than once, *e.g. Summa Theologica*, IIIa. xxxv. 6 ad 3m., and xxxvi. 4 ad 3m., and denounced as "Apocryphal." For the Gelasian Decree condemning all the "Apocrypha" see *h.l.*, vol. ii, p. 90.

a Latin form, which latter adds further details to the history of the infancy. The Child makes sparrows, which fly away; the flight into Egypt is recounted at great length; the routing of the schoolmaster takes place in Egypt as well as in Palestine, and the story of the finding in the Temple is given. An offshoot from this document is probably to be found in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, which gives the story of the birth in the cave, the visit of the shepherds, the circumcision, the story of holy Simeon, a long account of the flight into Egypt, where they sojourned three years, etc.

iii. *The Gospel of Nicodemus* includes several documents, most of which centre round the person of Pilate. The narrator is Nicodemus who tells of the miracles which took place when Christ was brought before Pilate, and of the long struggle the Governor made against Christ's enemies. Nicodemus intercedes with Pilate, so, too, do the paralytic who was cured after thirty-eight years, John v, as well as the man born blind, John ix, and the woman with the issue of blood, she, in some manuscripts, is identified with Veronica, as, indeed, is the case in other documents of this series. It is interesting to note that the chief accusation brought against Christ is that He was "born of fornication," a reminiscence of John viii. 41. The names of the two thieves are given as Dysmas and Gestas; the latter portion of the document is taken up with lengthy accounts of post-Resurrection appearances of Christ, as witnessed by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa. In the second version of this narrative Procles, the wife of Pilate, appeals to Pilate. Alexander and Rufus are given as the sons of Simon of Cyrene, as in Mark xv. 21. St. John fetches the Virgin Mary and tells her of the doings on Calvary. She goes to the scene and faints; her prayer to the Cross, begging it to bow down its arms that she may touch her Son, is very striking. The priests urge that the darkness is "only an eclipse."

The second portion of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is occupied with the *Descent into Hell*, which forms, perhaps, the most dramatic, and in some respects the most beautiful, of all the Apocryphal writings. The newly-raised dead are described as now living, and "their tombs are open and empty"; they

are called upon to describe what happened when Christ came down to "harrow" hell. In the Greek and Latin editions different persons figure. The Baptist, "forefather Adam," Seth, Isaias, Jeremias, Habacuc, Enoch, and Elias, with David the Royal Psalmist, all tell of the dialogue between Satan and Hades as the "King of Glory" drew nigh and the twenty-third Psalm was chanted outside the portals of hell. Then He entered, and "He took our forefather Adam by the hand, and delivered him and all the just to the Archangel Michael," whence the Antiphon at Lauds on St. Michael's day: "Archangele Michael, constitui te principem supra omnes animas suscipiendas." In one of the Latin versions there is a strange scene at the close, when Pilate compels Annas and Caiaphas to acknowledge out of the Scriptures that all things that had happened to Christ had been foretold.

There follow further documents regarding Pilate: his letters to Tiberius and Augustus on the Crucifixion; his summoning to Rome to give an account of his action; how, as he stood before the Emperor and named the name of Christ, all the idols fell to the ground; his beautiful prayer for himself and Procla, his wife, who stood beside him as he waited for the executioner's sword, "and an Angel received his head, and Procla, seeing this, expired for joy." This generous view of Pilate is, however, offset in the document immediately following, a portion, so it would seem, of the *Legend of Veronica*, in which Pilate commits suicide—a view which has always held sway in the popular estimate.

In the *Narrative of Joseph of Arimathæa* certain curious details are given: Judas is said to be a son of Caiaphas; he has tried for two years to betray his Master; he receives thirty pieces of *gold;* and, finally, the conversation between Christ and the two thieves is reported with many additions. Finally comes *The Avenging of the Saviour*, or *The Legend of Veronica;* herein is recounted the story of the search made for her portrait of Christ, though no account of how this came into being is given; the portrait is found, and the Emperor Tiberius adores it.

As we read these fanciful productions we are made to realize at every turn how vastly superior are the four canonical Gospels; a veritable gulf separates them from

these weird narratives in which the aim seems to be to pile up the marvellous. But we realize, too, to what an extent mediæval art has been indebted to these same Apocrypha for much of the material it has made so familiar to us. *The Harrowing of Hell* was an exceedingly popular work in the Middle Ages.

c. The Acts and Apocalypses.

The *Apocryphal Acts* number some thirteen documents. They are not so full of the marvellous as are the *Gospels*, though the things they recount are stupendous enough. The *Acts of Peter and Paul* commence with St. Paul's voyage from Malta, and narrate his stay at Puteoli, Baiæ, and Three Taverns. At Rome the Apostles are confronted with Simon Magus. They convert Nero's wife, Libia, as well as a matron, Agrippina. Though Simon falls dead on the Sacra Via, Nero yet orders St. Paul to be beheaded and St. Peter to be crucified and, at his own petition, head downwards. The well-known story, "Quo Vadis?" is given in full, and is also told by Origen.[1] *The Acts of Paul and Thecla* are, perhaps, more often referred to by the Fathers than any other Apocryphal document;[2] yet they are of no great interest, save for the description of St. Paul's appearance: "A man small in size, bald-headed, bandy-legged, well built, with eyebrows meeting, with rather long nose, full of grace; sometimes he seemed like a man, and at other times he had the appearance of an Angel." The *Acts of Barnabas* are chiefly of interest for the explanation of the dispute between Paul and Barnabas apropos of John Mark: "I was afraid," says St. Mark, "to come near Paul, for he thought that I had spent too much time in Pamphylia, and was very angry with me. . . . His great grievance was that I had kept several parchments in Pamphylia." None of the remaining "Acts" are of any abiding interest; we have those of *Philip* in two editions, of *Andrew*,[3] with the touching words about the daily sacrifice of the Immaculate Lamb, and the beautiful addresses to the Cross which have been incorporated into the Breviary Office; there are also the *Acts of*

[1] *Tom.* XX. 12 *in Joann.*
[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 390, note 4.
[3] See St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, Ia. xxxvi. 2, the 2nd *Objection*.

Andrew and Mathias, of *Matthew*, *Thomas*,[1] *Thaddeus*, or Lebbæus, and of *John*.

The *Apocalypses of Paul*[2] and of *John* are of little or no interest; needless to say that the latter is very different from the canonical *Apocalypse*. Lastly, we have several documents relating to the Blessed Virgin, but none of them are of early date, and they are purely fanciful.

The foregoing summary account of the principal Apocryphal *Gospels*, *Acts*, and *Revelations* may be supplemented by a more detailed notice of two documents which, since they probably date from the first century or the first quarter of the second century, and are intimately connected with the life and practices of the apostolic age, have a peculiar claim on our consideration. These are the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*.

D. St. Barnabas and the Epistle of Barnabas.

St. Barnabas occupies a unique position in the apostolic band, for though he was not one of the Twelve, nor divinely indicated to fill the place vacated by Judas, yet he is always termed an Apostle in ecclesiastical tradition, though not in the New Testament, save in Acts xiv. 14. Presumably this title was accorded him in view of the special divine mission entrusted to him and Saul.[3] He first comes to our notice in connection with the Church at Jerusalem, when he sells a field and divides the proceeds among the Christian

[1] The *Acts of Thomas* were much used by the Manichæans as favouring some of their peculiar tenets, but St. Augustine says contemptuously: "The Manichæans read certain Apocryphal Scriptures compiled by unknown weavers of fables in the name of the Apostles; these works might, of course, have deserved to be admitted to a place in the Church's authoritative lists in their writers' days if the holy and learned men who were then living could have examined them and declared that they spoke the truth," *Contra Faustum*, XXII. lxxix., *P.L.* XLII. 452; *cf. Contra Adimantum*, xvii. 2 and 5, *ibid.* 158 and 161.

For some account of the Apocryphal literature which has gathered round the name of St. Peter see *Introduction to the Epistles of St. Peter*.

[2] St. Augustine, *Tract.* xcviii. 8 *in Joann.*: "Apocalypsim Pauli, quam sana non recipit Ecclesia, nescio quibus fabulis plenam." This *Apocalypse* will be found in the supplementary volume to the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, published by Schaff and Wace.

[3] Acts xiii. 1.

body.[1] He it was who stood sponsor for Saul on his conversion;[2] he it was, too, who was sent down to Antioch to look into the question of the evangelization of the Gentiles.[3] It was then that he recognized St. Paul's peculiar fitness for work among the Gentiles, and consequently brought him from Tarsus to Antioch.[4] The Church there despatched him with Saul to carry relief to the famine-stricken at Jerusalem.[5] On their return to Antioch they were set apart by the Holy Spirit for the mission to the heathen, and were companions in Cyprus and Asia Minor.[6] At Lystra he was surnamed by the Lycaonians "Jupiter," presumably because of his venerable appearance.[7] Shortly after his return to Antioch he and St. Paul were sent by the Antiochian Church to the Council at Jerusalem,[8] on the conclusion of which they returned to Antioch. But when St. Paul proposed to resume their missionary work Barnabas was desirous to take with them Mark, his cousin; this was unacceptable to St. Paul, who felt that Mark had been lacking in courage on the previous mission. Consequently, Barnabas went to Cyprus with Mark.[9] Barnabas henceforth drops out of St. Luke's purview. Indeed, he is only mentioned once again, in 1 Cor. ix. 6, where St. Paul asks whether he and Barnabas alone have the right to depend on others for their support.

The treatise known as *The Epistle of Barnabas* exists in Greek—the previously existing gaps were filled by the discovery of Codex Sinaiticus in 1859—and in an old Latin translation. It falls into two parts: chaps. i-xvii show that Christ and Christianity are the real fulfilment of the promises of the old dispensation; chaps. xix-xxi treat of the "two ways"; these latter chapters are thought by some to belong to another document. The opening words run:

"Let us pass now to another kind of knowledge and teaching. There are two ways of teaching and two of power: the one is the way of light, the other that of darkness. And between these two ways there are many differences. For over the former are set the light-

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[1] Acts iv. 36-37. [2] *Ibid.* ix. 27. [3] *Ibid.* xi. 22-24.
[4] *Ibid.* 25-26. [5] *Ibid.* xi. 30, xii. 25. [6] *Ibid.* xiii-xiv.
[7] *Ibid.* xiv. 10-13. [8] *Ibid.* xv. 2; Gal. ii. (?) [9] *Ibid.* xv. 35-39.

bearing Angels of God, over the latter the angels of Satan. God indeed is the Lord of the endless ages, but Satan is the prince of this evil time."

None among the early Church writers seem to have questioned the authenticity of this Epistle, though practically all unite in rejecting it from the canon of inspired books. We say "practically" all, for it is possible that Origen regarded it as authoritative. Thus, on the doctrine of Angels he quotes—seemingly *a pari—Tobias*, *Zacharias*, the *Pastor* of Hermas, and the above passage from "Barnabas in Epistola sua."[1] He suggests, too, that Celsus may have derived his notion that the Apostles were sinners above ordinary from this same Epistle.[2] Again, he says: "There are on either hand, on either 'way,' as we find in many places of Scripture, ministering Angels";[3] this is clearly an allusion to our Epistle as quoted above, and Origen seems to include it among the books of Scripture. St. Clement of Alexandria constantly quotes "Barnabas the Apostle" or "the apostolic"; once he adds: "and he was one of the seventy and a fellow-worker with St. Paul."[4] It is not certain whether Clement regarded the Epistle as on a level with the canonical books, but it seems like it. Eusebius is quite emphatic in rejecting it, though he never seems to doubt its authorship.[5]

But the difficulty at once suggests itself: if it is really the work of an Apostle, then it must be inspired, for the criterium of inspiration and consequent canonicity is apostolic authorship, and presumably the converse proposition would hold good.[6] We could escape this, perhaps, by saying that Barnabas was only an Apostle by courtesy. We should also escape it if we could prove that the Epistle was really not by Barnabas at all, whether he was an

[1] *De Principiis*, III. ii. 4.
[2] *Contra Celsum*, I. 63.
[3] *Lib.* I. 18 *in Ep. ad Romanos; Barn.* v.
[4] *Strom.* II. 6, 7, 10, 15, 18, 20; V. 8 and 10; *cp. H.E.* XIII. vi. 1 and xiv. 1.
[5] *H.E.* III. xxv. 4.
[6] *E.g.* Tertulian, *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 6; *h.l.* II. 72-73. *Cf.* St. Augustine, *Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum*, XX (39), *P.L.* XLII. 626: "He certainly did bring forward testimonies from Apocrypha written under the names of Andrew and John. But if these were really by them they would have been received by the Church."

Apostle or not. And this latter conclusion seems inevitable. It is hard to believe that the very plain and uncompromising repudiation of Judaism in chaps. i-xvii could well have been written by a Jew, least of all by "the son of consolation"; a comparison with the *Epistle to the Hebrews* shows the standpoint a Jew would presumably have adopted on this point. It is also hard to believe that a companion of Apostles would have written that the Lord chose for His Apostles "men more iniquitous than all sin."[1] Then, again, chap. xvi tells of the fall of Jerusalem, therefore the Epistle dates from after A.D. 70. Barnabas might, of course, have lived after that date, though if he was a cotemporary of St. Paul it seems hardly probable. Hefele[2] argues that there is no hint of the building of Ælia Capitolina, which took place after A.D. 138, when Hadrian had extinguished the revolt of Bar-Cocheba, but it is not easy to see what other meaning attaches to Barnabas' words, "And now the enemies' own men are rebuilding it"; he is referring, it is true, to the Temple, but we are unaware of any attempt to rebuild the Temple apart from the city.[3] If this is a just interpretation, it will follow that the Epistle was written subsequent to A.D. 138,[4] and, consequently, cannot possibly have been the work of Barnabas.

E. The Didache, or Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles.

Patristic references to this document are comparatively rare, but they are explicit. Thus, while Origen—who mentions so many Apocryphal documents—is silent with regard to it, Clement of Alexandria quotes as "Scripture" a passage which could not until recently be identified: "Son, be not a liar, for falsehood leads to theft";[5] it occurs in *Did.* ii. 5. Similarly, St. Athanasius, in his list of books which were not to be regarded as "canonical," gives us "the so-called *Teaching of the Apostles* and the *Shepherd*";[6]

[1] *Barn.* v.

[2] *Patres Apostolici, Introductio; cp. H.E.* IV. vi. 4.

[3] *Barn.* xvi; the Greek has the future οἰκοδομήσουσιν, but the Latin has "reædificant."

[4] It is more usual, however, to refer the Epistle to a date anterior to A.D. 120.

[5] *Strom.* I. 20, *P.G.* VIII. 817. [6] *Ep.* xxxix, *P.G.* XXVI. 1438.

the same remark is made by Eusebius.[1] In the year 1873 Bryennios, the Metropolitan of Nicomedia, discovered in the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople a MS. volume containing, amongst other treasures, this very treatise which, however, he did not publish till 1883. It is no exaggeration to say that he threw the theological world into a ferment. For here was, without doubt, a Christian manual of prayer and ritual; one, too, which apparently dated from the first century of the Christian era.

The booklet—for it is exceedingly brief—falls naturally into four parts:

Chaps. i-vi. The doctrinal and catechetical portion.
Chaps. vii-x, xiv. A liturgical section.
Chaps. xi-xiii, xv. Disciplinary section.
Chap. xvi. Eschatology.

The first section deals with "the two ways": "There are two ways: one of life," chaps. i-iv, and "one of death," chaps. v-vi. The expression "two ways" seems to be derived from such passages as Deut. xxx. 15, Jer. xxi. 8, Matt. vii. 13-14, and is repeated in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, xviii.

The points of interest in this earliest of Church manuals are too many for us to enumerate them all here. Suffice it to say that practical Christian life is here presented as based on the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount; that prayer is made to play an important part in a Christian's daily life: the *Pater noster*—which is given in full, viii, —is to be repeated thrice daily; the administration of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist is emphasized; fasting is a prominent duty for Christians; and, lastly, we are afforded a glimpse of the missionary organization of those early days which is of exceeding interest. Anticipating for the moment the question of the date at which the *Didache* was composed, the references to the books of the New Testament are most interesting. The *Epistles of St. Ignatius* and *St. Clement*, as well as that which goes under the name of *Barnabas*, as also the early apologetic literature in general, are chary of quoting the New Testament, though allusions to individual books—or rather tacit quotations from them—are frequent.

[1] *H.E.* III. xxv. 4.

It is not till we come to the *Epistle of St. Polycarp* that we find what has been truly termed "a cento of quotations" from the New Testament books. Now, the phenomenon presented by the *Didache* is that, whereas it in all probability antedates all the above-mentioned books, yet it quotes largely from the New Testament. References to the Gospels are practically confined to *St. Matthew's Gospel*. Four times we have definite quotations, twice there seems to be a reference to a written Gospel, viii. 2 and xv. 4; and besides this we have some twenty allusions to passages in St. Matthew. Now and again there are references to *St. Luke's Gospel*, *e.g.* in i. 3-5, *cp.* Luke vi. 27-35 and iv. 8, *cp.* Luke xii. 35. *St. John's Gospel* is nowhere quoted, yet there are passages which remind us so forcibly of Christ's discourses in the *Fourth Gospel* that we feel compelled to suppose that these were so well known as to have passed into the ordinary Christian vocabulary; thus *cp.* chap. x. with John xvii. The writer also knows St. Paul's *Epistles to the Romans*, *Ephesians*, 1 *Corinthians*, and perhaps *Hebrews;* also 1 *Peter*, the *Epistle of St. James*, and the *Apocalypse*.

The date at which the *Didache* was composed is a vexed question. German critics as a rule seem to hold that it was later than the *Epistle of Barnabas* which at any rate belongs to the period between A.D. 70 and 120. But English scholars generally maintain that the *Didache* preceded *Barnabas*, since the concluding chapters in *Barnabas* seem to present in an expanded form the opening chapters of the *Didache*. An interesting example of their interdependence is furnished in chap. iv. 5, where Ecclus. iv. 31 is quoted with interesting variants, which reappear in precisely the same form in *Barn.* xix., a point which, so far as we are aware, has been entirely passed over by the critics. Whichever opinion we hold as to the mutual relationship of these two documents, no argument has as yet been adduced for referring the *Didache* to a later period than the first quarter of the second century.

F. Bibliography.

(*a*) On the *Apocrypha* in general: Much information of a general rather than of a detailed kind will be found in the *Manuals of Patrology* by Bardenhewer and Tixeront. Fairly complete collections of docu-

ments are given in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, T. and T. Clark, vol. xvi.; also by B. Harris Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels and Other Documents relating to the History of Christianity*, 2nd *ed.*, 1867; also Michel and Peeters, *Textes et Documents pour l'Étude Historique du Christianisme*, Paris, 1911; also by W. Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, 1865. Of the various Apocryphal *Acts* we have various editions by Tischendorf, Lipsius, and Wright in 1851 and 1871. The *Acta Thomæ* were published by Max Bousset, Leipsic, 1883; the *Acta Pauli* by Schmidt in 1904. Various *Apocalypses* were also edited by Tischendorf in 1866.

A good *Bibliography*, though it now needs supplementing, will be found in the *Expository Times* for August, 1913; for other articles see the same review, May, 1918, *J.T.S.*, October, 1910, January and April, 1915, and *R.B.*, January, 1919, also *The Expositor*, March, 1920.

(*b*) On the *Didache:* A summary of the views held will be found in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, Extra volume*, by Vernon Bartlett. An exceedingly handy edition is that published by Romestin, 1884. The chief edition in English is that by Schaff, 3rd *ed.*, 1889. Funk publishes it in his *Patres Apostolici*, i., 1901, also Jacquier, Paris, 1891. The edition *de luxe* is that of Rendel Harris, 1887. See, too, *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache*, by Armitage Robinson, 1920.

APPENDIX A

THE "BRETHREN" OF THE LORD

Several theories have been invoked to account for this expression, which recurs so frequently.[1] The first is that of *full brotherhood*, and was explicitly set forth by Helvidius[2] who maintained that after the supernatural and virginal birth of Christ His mother had other children of whom St. Joseph was the father. Helvidius' argument rested mainly on the term "brother," and this St. Jerome demolished by pointing out how wide a meaning this term had in Scripture.[3] The next theory was that of *half-brotherhood*, *viz.* that the "brethren" were sons of Joseph by a former wife. This view was explicitly held by St. Epiphanius, and is given by him as though it was the only explanation known at the time.[4] The third view is that of *cousinship*, whether maternal or paternal. This explanation, advocated by St. Jerome, has the twofold advantage of satisfying both the dogma of Mary's perpetual virginity and of being in perfect keeping with Scriptural usage of the term "brethren." Moreover, it has a sound historical basis. There are difficulties, however, in working out the details, as we shall see.

The strongest argument against both the "full-brother"

[1] *E.g.* Mark v. 4, xiii. 5, Luke viii. 20, John ii. 12, vii. 3-5, Acts i. 14, 1 Cor. ix. 4-5, Gal. ii. 2.

[2] See St. Jerome's treatise *De Perpetua Virginitate B. Mariæ*, *P.L.* XXIII. 185-206.

[3] *E.g.* Gen. xii. 4, xiii. 8, xiv. 14, 16, xxix. 11, 19, xxxi. 36-37, Deut. xv. 12, xvii. 11, xxii. 1-12, Rom. ix. 3-4.

[4] I. ii, *Hær.* XXIX. iii-iv, *P.G.* XLI. 393, *cp. Hær.* LXXVIII. Epiphanius explains the term "brother," as used of St. James, in the sense that his life was so close an imitation of that of Christ. This "half-brother" view is strongly held by Lightfoot, *Galatians, ed.* 1865, pp. 241-275. Origen refers to it, and states that it was derived from the *Gospel of Peter* or the *Book of James*, *i.e.* the *Protevangelium*, *Tom.* X. 17 *in Matt.*, *P.G.* XIII. 876-877; *cp.* the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, 41-42; Eusebius, *H.E.* II. i. 2, appears to hold the "half-brother" theory.

and the "half-brother" theories is to be found in the fact that at the foot of the Cross Christ delivered His mother to the safe-keeping of John. Would He have done this had the surviving "brethren" been really His brothers?[1]

There are four principal places in N.T. whence we can derive information on this vexed question: the visit of Our Lord to Nazareth, the lists of Apostles, the account of those who were present at the Crucifixion, and the accounts of the witnesses to the Resurrection of Christ.

A. The Visit to Nazareth.

i. Matt. xiii. 55-56. *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not His mother called Mary, and His brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Jude, and His sisters, are they not all with us?*

ii. Mark vi. 3. *Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joseph, and Jude, and Simon? Are not also His sisters here with us?*

Here all four are termed "brethren" of the Lord; elsewhere James is termed "the brother of the Lord" in quite a special manner.

B. The Lists of the Apostles.

i. Matt. x. 3-4. *James of Alpheus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Cananean.*

ii. Mark iii. 18. *James of Alpheus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Cananean.*

iii. Luke vi. 15. *James of Alpheus, and Simon who is called Zelotes, and Jude of James.* The same list is given by St. Luke again in Acts i. 13.

We note that *James of Alpheus* occurs in all the lists; that the *Thaddeus* of Matthew and Mark is *Jude of James* in Luke and Acts. This latter expression is generally thought to mean Jude *the brother of* James. It might be urged in favour of this that after James had become famous as Bishop of Jerusalem Jude might be thus conveniently and appropriately distinguished; moreover, he would need to be distinguished from the traitor. Simon was sufficiently distinguished by the cognomen Zelotes or—in Aramaic—Cananean.

[1] See *Adv. Helvidium*, xii, *P.L.* XXIII. 195.

C. At the Foot of the Cross.

i. Matt. xxvii. 56. *Among whom was Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee.*
ii. Mark xv. 40. *Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James the Less and of Joseph, and Salome.*
iii. John xix. 25. *His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen.*

Matthew and Mark enable us to identify *Salome* with *the mother of the* sons of Zebedee, but it is not clear whether St. John means us to understand that there were four women at the foot of the Cross, *viz.* His mother, her sister, Mary of Cleophas, and the Magdalen, or whether John means to show that His mother's sister and Mary of Cleophas were one and the same person.

"Mary of James and Joseph," Matt. xxvii. 56, Mark xv. 40, "Mary of James," Mark xvi. 1, Luke xxiv. 10, "Mary of Joseph," Mark xv. 47, are one and the same, and in Matt. xxvii. 61 and xxviii. 1 she is spoken of, as opposed to Mary Magdalen, as "the other Mary." There remains Mary of Cleophas, and also, on the supposition that John xix. 25 is to be understood of four and not three persons, the unnamed sister of the Blessed Virgin. Now it is to be noted that Mary of James and Joseph is never spoken of as the mother of Simon and Jude; also that James is called James of Alphæus in the lists of the Apostles.

St. Jerome's words are worth noting:

"No one can doubt that there were two Apostles called James, James the son of Zebedee and James (the son) of Alphæus. As for him whom Scripture refers to—I know not why—as James the Less and as Mary's son, though not the son of (the Mary who was) the Lord's mother, was he an Apostle or not? If an Apostle, he will be the son of Alphæus, he will be a believer in Jesus, he will not be of the number of those brethren of whom it is said, 'for neither did His brethren believe in Him.' If he is not an Apostle, but some third James, then how came he to be regarded as the Lord's brother? How, too, will a third, by contrast with a 'greater,' be termed 'the Less,' when 'greater' and 'less' are terms of distinction between two, and not between three? That 'the Lord's brother' was an Apostle is clear from Paul (Gal. i. 18-19, ii. 9). Nor can you confound him with the James who was the son of Zebedee, for, as the *Acts of the Apostles* shows us, he had already been slain by Herod. It remains, then, that Mary, who is described as the mother of James the Less, was the wife of Alphæus and the sister of Mary the Lord's mother. John the Evange-

list calls her Mary of Cleophas; he gives her this title either because of her father, or because of some relationship in her family, or for some other reason."[1]

It will be noticed that St. Jerome argues from the title "Less," whereas the Greek has ὁ μικρὸς, *i.e.* "the Little." It is also noteworthy that Jerome does not identify Cleophas with Alphæus, as do St. Chrysostom and Theodoret. Elsewhere Jerome says:

"We read of four 'Marys' in the Gospels: one the mother of the Lord and Saviour; another His aunt, who is called Mary of Cleophas; a third who is Mary the mother of James and Jose; a fourth who is Mary Magdalen. Some even maintain that the mother of James and Jose was also His aunt."[2]

But both in the passage just quoted and in his treatise against Helvidius Jerome takes it for granted that John xix. 25 only mentions three persons, not four, *i.e.* "His mother's sister" and "Mary of Cleophas" are one and the same; when writing against Helvidius, he shows that the distinction between Mary of Cleophas and the mother of James and Joseph was a disputed question.[3]

D. The Narrative of the Resurrection.

i. Matt. xxvii. 61. *And there was Mary Magdalen and the other Mary sitting over against the sepulchre.*
ii. Matt. xxviii. 1. *Came Mary Magdalen and the other Mary to see the sepulchre.*
iii. Mark xv. 47. *And Mary Magdalen and Mary of Joseph beheld where He was laid.*
iv. Mark xvi. 1. *Mary Magdalen and Mary of James and Salome bought sweet spices.*
v. Luke xxiv. 10. *And it was Mary Magdalen, and Joanna, and Mary of James, and the other women that were with them that told these things.*

Mary Magdalen, we notice, is named in all the accounts. St. Luke's addition, *and the other women that were with them*, shows that many were there, and that each Evangelist named some whom he himself knew to have been there, or from whom, perhaps, he derived his information. Again, *the other Mary* of Matthew is identified as *the mother of James* in Mark xv. 27, as *the mother of Joseph* in xvi. 1. And

[1] *Adv. Helvidium*, 13, *P.L.* XXIII. 195-196.
[2] *Ad Hedibiam, Ep.* CXX. iv, *P.L.* XXII. 988.
[3] *Adv. Helvidium*, 14, *P.L.* XXIII. 196.

nowhere, save in the mouths of the people of Nazareth, are the four, James and Joseph, Simon and Jude, spoken of as really brothers; we never hear of *Mary of Simon* or *of Jude*. This shows how, even in the Gospel narrative, the term "brother" was used in a very wide sense. What, then, was the relationship between these four?

St. Jerome identifies Mary the mother of James with Mary of Cleophas, whom he regards as the sister of the mother of Christ. The appellation "of Cleophas" he considers to be a patronymic; he never suggests that Cleophas might have been the name of her husband. If this is correct, then James and Joseph will be cousins of Christ on the mother's side. But St. Jerome offers no explanation of the expression "James of *Alphæus*," neither does he tell us in what relation the four "brothers" stood to one another. We have seen that he never dreams of identifying Alphæus with Cleophas, and thus explaining "James of *Alphæus*" as meaning "James, son of Cleophas (Alphæus)." Indeed, it seems that it is philologically impossible to identify the names Alphæus and Cleophas. The former is a genuine Aramaic name in Greek dress; the latter is, in the form Clopas, a Greek abbreviation for the Greek name Cleopatros.[1] Eusebius, however, has preserved a statement of Hegesippus which throws some light on the question. Eusebius says that after the death of St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, "Symeon, the son of Clopas, of whom the Gospel makes mention, was elected. . . . He was a cousin, as they say, of the Saviour, for Hegesippus records that Clopas was a brother of Joseph."[2] It is noticeable that Eusebius does not term Symeon "brother" of James, whom he succeeded, yet he would assuredly have done so

[1] Moreover, if *Alphæus* and *Cleophas* are variants of the same name, it is hard to understand how St. Luke could write *Alphæus* twice over, vi. 15 and Acts i. 13, and yet speak of one of the two who went to Emmaus as "one named *Cleophas*," xxiv. 18. In his *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis*, St. Jerome interprets the name *Alphæus* as "fugitivus, sed melius millesimus, vel doctus," and again as "millesimus, sive super os, ab *ore* non ab *osse*," *P.L.* XXIII. 839, 845. He attempts no explanation of *Cleophas*.

[2] *H.E.* III. xi. 2, xxii,, xxxii. 6, IV. xxii. 4. As for the identification of Alphæus and Clopas, it is worth noting that Eusebius nowhere mentions Alphæus, though he tells us of a martyr of that name, *Martyrs of Palestine*, I. 5.

had they really been brothers. Since, then, James and Joseph are coupled together, and similarly Simon and Jude, and since we learn that James was the son of Mary of Clopas, and Simon was the son of Clopas, who was brother of St. Joseph, we seem to be shut up to the conclusion that these four had the same father, but not the same mother; Simon and Jude seem to be sons of Clopas by a former wife, James and Joseph seem to be his sons by Mary of Clopas. And since Clopas and St. Joseph are brothers, while Mary the mother of Christ and Mary of Clopas are sisters, we have a double cousinship, two brothers having married two sisters. We shall then have the following table:

St. Joseph (brother of) Clopas.		Mary (sister of) Mary of Clopas.	
m. Mary the Mother of Jesus.	*m.* (?)	Mother of Jesus.	*m.* Clopas as his second wife.
Simon.	Jude.	Joseph.	James.
1. "Brother of the Lord."	"Brother of the Lord."	"Brother of the Lord."	"Brother of the Lord."
2. Apostle.	Apostle.		Apostle.
3. Second Bishop of Jerusalem.			First Bishop of Jerusalem.
	Author of *Epistle of Jude.*		Author of *Epistle of James.*
	"Brother of James," *Jude* 1.		"James the Less" (or the "Little").

According to this table, the sons of Clopas and Mary are doubly cousins of Christ; the sons of Clopas are His cousins on their father's side only.

Conclusions.

(1) The term "brother" is undoubtedly used in a very wide sense in Holy Scripture. Therefore the expression "brethren of the Lord" in no sense demands either the "full- or the half-brotherhood" theories.

(2) The expression gave rise to questionings in the Church at a very early period, as is evident from Helvidius' position. At the same time, St. Jerome's whole-hearted

repudiation of it as an *a priori* impossibility on dogmatic grounds shows that the Church as a whole had no sympathy with Helvidius' views.

(3) St. Epiphanius' "half-brother" theory has nothing to support it save the use of the term "brethren."

(4) St. Jerome adduces no authorities for his statements about the relationship subsisting between Mary of Cleophas and the Blessed Virgin, but it does not therefore follow that he had no authority for it. He must have been familiar with Eusebius' quotations from Hegesippus. But, as he declares, his sole preoccupation is to prove that "the Mary who was the mother of James and Joses was not the same with the Mary who was the mother of the Lord."[1]

(5) No satisfactory explanation of the expression "James of *Alphæus*" has yet appeared.

The following fragment is, perhaps, of no historical value, but it is of interest as showing how this problem of the "brethren of the Lord" has always vexed men's minds. It was found by Grabe in a MS. of the Bodleian, and in the margin is labelled "Papia," but Westcott declares that this is only a mediæval "Papias," and that the fragment is really a portion of a dictionary.

Mary the mother of the Lord; Mary the wife of Cleophas or Alpheus, who was the mother of James the Bishop and Apostle, and of Simon and Thaddeus, and of one Joseph; Mary Salome, wife of Zebedee, mother of John the Evangelist and James; Mary Magdalen. These four are found in the Gospel. James and Judas and Joseph were sons of an aunt of the Lord's. James also and John were sons of another aunt of the Lord's. Mary, mother of James the Less and Joseph, wife of Alpheus, was the sister of Mary the mother of the Lord, whom John names of Cleophas, either from her father or from the family of the clan, or for some other reason. Mary Salome is called Salome either from her husband or her village. Some affirm that she is the same as Mary of Cleophas because she had two husbands.[2]

Whether historical or not, most students will agree that the above is of more value than the following gem of recent German criticism:

"Klopas cannot be the husband of the mother of Jesus, for his name was Joseph; it is equally impossible that he should be her father or

[1] *Adv. Helvidium*, xiv, *P.L.* XXIII. 196.

[2] Given in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, *The Apostolic Fathers*, pp. 447-448, Clark, Edinburgh.

some other blood-relation, for she could not thus be distinguished from her sister. On the other hand, her sister also cannot be distinguished from her by her dwelling-place ('of Magdala'), and the same name for two sisters is surprising. In other words, the proper names Mary of Klopas and Mary Magdalen are not a correct explanation of the appellatives which preceded, and are therefore probably interpolated. Whence the name of Klopas comes, and what it refers to as a genitive one does not know. It is presupposed (in John xix. 25) that the mother of Jesus is a widow, and that she has no other son. The Anonymous, who is to take the place of a son to her, takes her away at once εἰς τὰ ἴδια. He has, therefore, his home in Jerusalem, and is consequently not a Galilean and not the son of Zebedee."[1]

It would be difficult to surpass this for logic!

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Lagrange, O.P., *Évangile selon Saint Marc*, 1911, pp. 72-89; Lightfoot, *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, 1892, pp. 1-45. See, too, *R.B.*, January, 1908.

[1] G. Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Johannis*, 1908, p. 87, quoted by Chapman, *John the Presbyter*, p. 80.

APPENDIX B

THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS AND PHILO

Flavius Josephus.

No student of the Bible, whether of the Old or of the New Testament, can afford to neglect the writings of Josephus who was undoubtedly raised up by Providence to preserve for us a history of the Jews, without the help of which we should grope vainly for information on many essential points. Josephus has left us his *Autobiography*, his *Antiquities of the Jews*, his *History of the Jewish War*, and his *Defence of Judaism against Apion.*

Born A.D. 37-38, he derived his descent from the Hasmonean or Maccabæan stock.[1] Always of a studious bent, he devoted himself at the early age of sixteen to the study of the "three sects," as he terms them, *viz.* the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. For some time he lived in the desert with an Essene named Banus, and finally, when nineteen years of age, embraced the Pharisees' tenets.[2] When he was twenty-six he went to Rome to plead the cause of some priests who were relatives of his, and who had experienced harsh treatment at the hands of Felix the Procurator. At Rome Josephus was befriended by Poppæa and won his cause. This was in A.D. 64. On his return the fatal war which ended with the destruction of Jerusalem was on the verge of breaking out. For some time Josephus held aloof from the firebrands among the Jews, but ultimately, after the defeat of Cestius Gallus in A.D. 66, he joined the revolutionary party and became Governor-General of Galilee, with an army of 100,000 men.[3] In the town of Jotapata he was besieged by Vespasian for forty-seven days,

[1] *Vita*, i; *B.J. Præf.* i.; the reader of this *Preface* will be struck by the likeness between it and St. Luke's *Preface* to his *Gospel.*

[2] *Vita*, ii.

[3] *Ibid.* vii; *B.J.* II. xx. 4.

but when he ultimately fell into Vespasian's hands Josephus prophesied (?) the latter's ultimate elevation to the purple, which event came to pass within two years. Vespasian made him his protégé, and Josephus henceforth adopted Vespasian's family name "Flavius."[1] With him he went to Alexandria, and then with Titus to Jerusalem, where he was used as an ambassador to the besieged.[2] After A.D. 70 he went to Rome, where the Emperor lodged him, made him a Roman citizen, and gave him every facility for writing.[3] He died some time in the opening years of the second century.

We have given these details so as to show how competent Josephus is to guide us in the Jewish history, especially in his account of the first century A.D.

His first extant work is the *De Bello Judaico*, which he originally composed in Aramaic, but translated himself into Greek. Book I covers the period 175-64 B.C., *viz.* from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Herod; Book II from 4 B.C. to A.D. 65, *viz.* the beginning of the Jewish war against the Romans; Book III treats of the war as waged in Galilee; Books IV-VI with the isolation of Jerusalem and its fall; Book VII tells of events subsequent to that epoch. His next work was *De Antiquitatibus Judæorum*, in twenty books. Books I-X cover the period up to the Babylonian captivity; Book XI from Cyrus to the death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C.; Book XII carries down the history to the death of Judas Maccabæus, 161 B.C.; Books XIII-XIV bring us to the accession of Herod the Great, 37 B.C.; Books XV-XVII cover the reign of that king; Books XVIII-XX deal with events from 4 B.C. to A.D. 66.

Then comes the *Life* or *Autobiography*. This was written after the death of Herod Agrippa II in A.D. 100. It is hardly so much an autobiography—only chaps. i-vi deal with Josephus' life—as a history of the Jewish war, vii-lxxii. It seems to have been a species of appendix to the *Antiquities*, for Eusebius[4] quotes a passage from it as "at the close of the *Antiquities*." Lastly, we have the *Contra Apionem*, or defence of Judaism.

The value of these works depends, of course, on Josephus'

[1] *B.J.* IV. x. 7.
[2] *B.J.* V. iii. 3 *et passim*.
[3] *Vita*, lxxv.
[4] *H.E.* III. x. 8.

sources of information and on the use he makes of them. For the *Antiquities* he relies on the Bible itself—especially the Septuagint version, on Rabbinical legends, on Berosus, Nicholas of Damascus,[1] Strabo,[2] the Sibylline Oracles, Alexander Polyhistor, Herodotus, Menander's *Annals of Tyre*. Certain periods are almost a blank, *e.g.* from 330-180 B.C.; for the restoration period he uses the Greek 1 *Esdras* and *Esther* with the Deutero-canonical portions; for the Maccabæan period he uses 1 *Maccabees* in Greek; for later periods he uses Polybius. In *Ant.* XX. xi. 3 Josephus tells us with a pardonable pride that he finished the huge work, "twenty books and 60,000 verses," in the thirteenth year of Domitian and the fifty-sixth year of his own age, *i.e.* A.D. 93-94. In judging of this work, it must be borne in mind that Josephus is not writing for his fellow-Jews, but for cultivated Romans and the Greek-speaking world in general; "the present history of our own acts," he says, "will mostly go among the Greeks."[3]

The *History of the War* is naturally not so generally useful to the Biblical student as the *Antiquities*, but it has this great advantage, that it is the work of one who actually took part in the events he describes. Both the *Antiquities* and the *History of the War* show us that Josephus was a gifted narrator, and though he may at times show a lack of historical discrimination such as we look for to-day, yet he well merits the title St. Jerome gives him, "Græcus Livius."[4] At a very early period Josephus' works were translated into Syriac, and it has even been maintained that the existing translation of the sixth book of the *War* was made from the original Aramaic. The *Antiquities* were translated into Latin by a disciple of Cassiodorus. St. Jerome writes to Licinius: "The rumour you refer to—that I have translated the works of Josephus, Papias, and Polycarp—is unfounded. I have neither the time nor the capacity to express in another language and with the same beauty such things as these."[5] Cassiodorus refers to this letter, and terming Josephus "almost a second Livy," adds: "One of our friends has translated the work into Latin in twenty-two books."[6]

[1] *Ant.* XIII. viii. 3, xii. 6.
[2] *Ibid.* x. 4, xi. 3, xii. 6, etc.
[3] *Ibid.* XX. xi. 3.
[4] *Ep.* XXII. 35, *P.L.* XXII. 420.
[5] *Ep.* LXXI. 5, *P.L.* XXII. 671.
[6] *Instituta*, xvii.

We cannot leave Josephus without mentioning the famous controversy touching his reference to Christ. After telling us of two episodes in Pilate's Governorship, Eusebius goes on to say:

"Now there was about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if indeed it be lawful to call Him a man—for He was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew to Him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was Christ, and when Pilate, at the instigation of the principal men amongst us, had condemned Him to the cross, those that loved Him at the first did not forsake Him, for He appeared to them alive on the third day, as the divine Prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things, concerning Him; the tribe of Christians—so named after Him—are not extinct at this day."[1]

It is, or rather was, usual to dub this passage spurious. It was urged, for instance, that it makes an awkward break in the chapter in question,[2] though it must be confessed that it is difficult to grasp this argument when once we are accustomed to the peculiar fashion in which Josephus passes from one subject to another. It is also urged that, since Origen[3] quotes the passage relative to St. John the Baptist from Josephus[4] it is inexplicable that he should have failed to quote this passage about Christ. But this argument would have force if the two passages were connected—as, indeed, Eusebius seems to imply.[5] As a matter of fact, the passage touching Christ occurs two chapters previous to that on the Baptist.[6] It is also urged that in the parallel passage in *Wars*[7] Josephus does not give it. Yet here, again, it is remarkable that, as Whiston in his English edition points out in a note on that portion of *Wars:*

"We have here, in the Greek MS., which was once Alexander Petavius' . . . two most remarkable additions. . . . Upon the mention of Tiberius' coming to the empire, (this MS.) inserts first the famous testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ as it stands verbatim in the *Antiquities*, with some parts of that discourse of Josephus concerning Hades. But what is principally to be noted is

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[1] *Ant.* XVIII iii. 3. [2] So McGiffert on *H.E.* I. xi. 7-9.
[3] *Contra Celsum*, I. 47, *cp. Tom.* x. 17 *in Matt.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *H.E.* I. xi. 7, where note that Eusebius transposes the order, and gives the account of Christ as coming in Josephus after the account of the Baptist.
[6] *Viz. Ant.* XVIII. v. 2. [7] *B.J.* II. ix.

this, that in this homily Josephus, having just mentioned Christ as 'God the Word, and the Judge of the world, appointed by the Father,' adds that 'he had himself elsewhere spoken about Him more nicely and particularly.'"

Moreover, the passage exists in all MSS. of Josephus, and is quoted by Eusebius, not only here, but in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*.[1] We know that Josephus' works have been mutilated in the past; Origen, for instance,[2] quotes passages from him which are not now to be found in our copies. The same is the case with Eusebius, who says apropos of the destruction of Jerusalem: "Josephus has not hesitated to testify this in his writings where he says: 'These things happened to the Jews to avenge James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus, that is called the Christ.'"[3] Yet these words occur in no MS. of Josephus; Origen, however, has the same quotation.[4]

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Philo Judæus.

St. Jerome says: "A Jew of Alexandria, and because he was of the priestly stock we include him among ecclesiastical writers."[5] There is no other proof that Philo was of the priestly class, but then neither is there anything against it. We give some account of him and his writings, however, because, just as Josephus is of such immense assistance for Jewish history and customs, so is Philo for Græco-Judaic thought. The whole world of Hellenistic Judaism is somewhat of a mystery to us, and were it not for Philo's writings it would be involved in still deeper obscurity. With the

[1] III. v.
[2] *Cf. h.l.*, pp. 280-281.
[3] *H.E.* II. xxiii. 20.
[4] *Contra Celsum*, I. 47.
[5] *Vir. Illustr.* XI., *P.L.* XXIII. 625.

translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, there had necessarily grown a spirit of enquiry among the Greek-speaking peoples as to the real significance of teachings which seemed to take a view of the world and its Creator quite distinct from those ordinarily held. It was a commonplace with the Alexandrian Fathers that all that was good in Platonism and heathen philosophy generally was ultimately derived from the Mosaic writings. This may have seemed far-fetched, but it still remained true that, since truth was one, any true system of philosophy must be reconcilable with divinely-inspired teachings. This was Philo's task. A typical Jew, he was also a typical Hellenist. We know nothing of his antecedents, but it seems probable that his entire life had been passed amid the "dispersion," and that he therefore stood for a type of that cosmopolitan Jew who, while above all things a son of Abraham, is at the same time a citizen of the world. We only know of one historical fact in his life. He himself has left us a memento of it in his *Legatio ad Caium* when he was chosen by the Alexandrian Jews as their spokesman in their pleading with Caligula for better treatment. In A.D. 40, then, Philo came to Rome on this embassy, and as he tells us he was then an old man, this may enable us to date his birth 20-10 B.C. Eusebius[1] says: "It is said that Philo became acquainted at Rome with Peter, who was then preaching there." It is the fashion to reject this statement of a tradition as groundless, but as the only ground alleged[2] is that, since Philo was then old, and as St. Peter did not reach Rome till shortly before his martyrdom, it is hardly conceivable that the two should have met. Granting, however, that St. Peter came to Rome much earlier, we should feel inclined to think the meeting rather likely than unlikely. Eusebius is disposed to believe the tradition on the ground that, in his *De Vita Contemplativa*, Philo betrays so familiar acquaintance with the lives of the early Christian ascetics at Alexandria, and Eusebius proceeds to quote a long passage descriptive, as he thinks, of the Alexandrian Saints. Modern criticism, however, declines to see here a description of Christians, but prefers to believe that Philo is speaking of an Essene

[1] *H.E.* II. xvii. 1.
[2] *E.g.* McGiffert, *in loco*, Schurer, *H.J.P.* I. iii.

community. Yet no arguments in favour of this view are forthcoming, and it is hard to believe that the most prominent and most Christ-like Jew in Alexandria should have known nothing of the practices of the Christian community in the city. It is certainly characteristic of much of what passes for criticism to-day that Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa* is declared to be spurious on the sole ground, apparently, that, if genuine, we should be compelled to acknowledge his singularly Christian frame of mind.[1]

Philo's writings fall into three classes. In the first class we should put his allegorizing works on the Pentateuch and on Genesis in particular. The main work was known as *The Allegories of the Sacred Laws*, and embraced a series of more or less extended commentaries on sections of Genesis; these number sixteen, and, as they have often been published separately and are of different value, they have in time come to be regarded as different books. The best known of these, perhaps, are the *De Sacrificiis Abel et Cain*, *De Confusione Linguarum*, *De Mutatione Nominum*, and the *De Somniis*. What Philo has in view is to show the Gentiles how to understand the sacred writings; they have a deeper sense than what appears on the surface, *viz.* the allegorical sense; Greek philosophy is in fullest accord with the teachings that can thus be deduced from the bare letter, which to a Greek mind seems so uninviting. Conversely, the Hellenistic Jews themselves should rejoice to see their Law thus expounded and made intelligible to the nations in whose midst they lived. It is easy to see the position that Philo therefore held in his time; he stood midway between two apparently opposite camps, and endeavoured to show that the opposition was more apparent than real. In the second class of writings we have those treatises in which Philo endeavours to set before the Gentile world the real meaning of Judaism, *e.g.* the *De Mundi Opificio*, *De Abraham*, *De Joseph*, *De Decalogo*, *De Legibus Specialibus*, and *De Præmiis*. The third class of writings are more directly apologetic: the *Adversus Flaccum* and *De Legatione ad Caium* deal with the persecutions undergone by the Alexandrian Jews; then we have *De Vita Mosis*, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, *De Providentia*, *De Judæis*, *De Vita Contemplativa*, *De Incorruptibilitate Mundi*, and *De Mundo*; considerable doubt is thrown on the authenticity of the two last named.

As for the doctrinal position assumed by Philo, opinions differ. The truth is that he is an eclectic. How, indeed, could he be otherwise? A Jew, and therefore an idealist; a Greek, and therefore steeped in Platonism; a Jew, and therefore more inclined to concrete than abstract ideas; a Greek, and with a consequent leaning to metaphysical speculation, it was wellnigh impossible for him to have any rigid system

[1] *E.g.* Schurer, *H.J.P.* II. iii. 357-358; McGiffert on *H.E.* II. xvii. 3.

of speculative thought which could serve his dual purpose. This much is certain: Philo held that God was unknowable by us men; we could know His existence, but not His nature, save in a negative way. He is pure Spirit, and therefore between Him and material things there exists an impassable gulf. The consequences of this teaching were far-reaching; for since contact between Creator and creature had to be established, and since such contact would defile the purely spiritual Creator, Philo was led to excogitate a whole system of Æons or intermediate beings through whose agency God acted on created things. Here we have the self-subsisting Ideas of Plato, the Stoic subsisting Causes, the Æons of the Gnostics, the Dæmons of the Greeks.

The effects of Philo's teaching on the Greek Fathers, particularly of Alexandria, is very remarkable. From him —at least, to a large extent—they drew their allegorizing method of handling difficult passages in Scripture. Moreover, they found in his writings the same doctrine of the Logos or "Word" of God which they found in St. John's *Gospel*, though for Philo this Logos is not a personal being so much as an abstract notion. Consequently, the teachers of the catechetical school at Alexandria, Clement and Origen particularly, drew largely upon Philo. The reaction came with the Antiochian school of literal as opposed to allegorical exposition; the final combination of the saner elements in both schools of thought is to be found in the exegetical writings of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, while of St. Ambrose it may be said that he stands on the dividing line owing to his indebtedness to Origen for so much of his Scriptural interpretation, and to Philo directly in those famous sermons of his to which St. Augustine must have listened—for they were preached in A.D. 384-385,—in these St. Ambrose follows Philo when treating of Cain and Abel, of Noe and the ark, etc.[1]

[1] See especially Boyer, *La Formation de Saint Augustin*, pp. 113-119, Paris, 1920.

APPENDIX C

THE CLAUDIAN INSCRIPTION FROM DELPHI (*cf.* p. 376).

1. Τιβέ(ριος Κλαύδιος Κ)αῖσ(αρ Σεβαστ)ος (Γερμανικος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξου)
2. σίας (τὸ ιβ′ αυτοκράτωρ τ)ο κς′ π(ατηρ πα)τριδ(ος)
3. πάλ(ιν τ)ῆι πόλει (τ)ῶν δελφ(ῶν προθ)υμό(τατα χαίρειν)
4. χ . . . ισα ἐ(πε)τήρη(σα δε τὴ)ν θρησκε(ίαν τ)οῦ απο(λλωνος τοῦ πυ θιου)
5. νῦν λέγεται καὶ . . . ι τῶν ἔργ . . . εἶναι ω . . . (Ἰού)
6. νιος Γαλλίων ὁ (φίλος) μου κα(ὶ ἀνθύ)πατος (Ἀχαιΐας)
7. ἔτι ἔξειν τὸν προτέρον . . .

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